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A

NEW SYSTEM,

OR, AN

ANALYSIS

OF

ANTIENT MYTHOLOGY;

WHEREIN AN ATTEMPT IS MADE TO DIVEST TRADITION OF FABLE,
AND TO REDUCE THE TRUTH TO ITS ORIGINAL PURITY.

BY JACOB BRYANT, ESQ.

THE THIRD EDITION.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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WITH A PORTRAIT AND

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR;

A VINDICATION OF THE APAMEAN MEDAL;

Observations and Inquiries relating to various
Parts of Antient History;

A COMPLETE INDEX,

AND FORTY-ONE PLATES, NEATLY ENGRAVED.

VOL. V.

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A

NEW SYSTEM;

OR, AN

ANALYSIS

OF

ANTIENT MYTHOLOGY.

OF THE

PROGRESS OF THE IONIC WORSHIP;

AND OF THE

IONAH-HELLENIC COLONIES.

I HAVE repeatedly taken notice, that the worship of the Dove, and the circumstances of the Deluge, were very early interwoven among the various rites, and ceremonies of the eastern world. This worship, and all other memorials of that great event, were represented in hieroglyphical characters in Babylonia: and from these symbolical marks, ill understood, was that mythology framed, which through

the Greeks has been derived to us. The people, by whom these rites were kept up, were styled Semarim, Iönim, and Dercetidæ; according to the particular symbol, which they venerated: and some allusions to these names will continually occur in their history, wheresoever they may have settled.

The Capthorim brought these rites with them into Palestine; where they were kept up in Gaza, Ascalon, and Azotus. They worshipped Dagon; and held the Dove in high veneration. Hence it was thought, that Sciniramis was born in these parts, and nourished by pigeons. Their coast seems to have been called the coast of the Iönim: for the sea, with which it was bounded, was named the Iönian sea quite to the Nile. [1] Λεγεσθαι δε τινες και το απο Γαζης μεχρις Αιγυπτου πελαγος ΙΟΝΙΟΝ λεγεσθαι. Indeed Gaza was itself styled Iönah: [2] Ιωνη γαρ η Γαζα εκαλειτο: which name Stephanus supposes it to have received from the flight of Iö. [3] Γαζα—εκληθη δε και ΙΩΝΗ εκ της Ιους προσπλευσασης, και μεινασης αυτης εκει, Εκληθη δε και Μινωα. Eustathius takes notice of the same circumstance: [4] το απο Γαζης μεχρις Αιγυπτου πελαγος Ιονιον λεγεσθαι—απο της Ιους—

[1] Steph. Byzant. Ἰόνιον.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid. Γαζα. Menois oppidum juxta Gazam. Hieron. in locis Hebræis.

[4] Scholia in Dionys. Perieg. v. 94.

ντοι της Σελήνης· Ιω γαρ ἡ Σελήνη κατα την των Αργειων διαλεκτον. If the title of Ionian came from Iö, that name must have been originally Iön or Iönah: and so it will hereafter appear. What one writer terms Minoa, the other renders Σελήνη; which is a true interpretation of [5] Μην, the Moon, the name of the deified person, Meen-Noah. I have mentioned, that the like terms, and worship, and allusions to the same history, prevailed at Sidon, and in Syria. The city Antioch upon the Orontes was called Iönah. [6] Ιωνη· ἑτως εκαλειτο ἡ Αντιοχεια, ἡ επι Δαφνῃ, ἡν ὠκισαν Αργειοι. Who these Argeans were, that founded this city Iönah, needs not, I believe, any explanation.

It was mentioned [7] above, that Iö, among her various peregrinations, arrived at last at Gaza in Palestine, which from her was called Iönah. Under the notion of the flight of Iö, as well as of Osiris, Damater, Astarte, Rhea, Isis, Dionusus, the poets alluded to the journeying of mankind from Mount Ararat; but more particularly the retreat of the Iönim, upon their dispersion from the

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[5] Hence Iö, or Iönah, by being the representative of Meen, came to be esteemed the Moon. Ιω γαρ ἡ Σελήνη κατα την των Αργειων διαλεκτον. Scholia in Dionys. Perieg. v. 94. Οἱ Αργειοι μυστικως το ονομα της Σελήνης το αποκρυφον Ιω λεγουσιν, ἑως αρτι. Joan. Antiochenus. p. 31. See Chron. Pasch. p. 41.

[6] Steph. Byzant. Ιωνη.

[7] Ibid. Γαζα.

land of Shinar. The Greeks represented this person as a feminine, and made her the daughter of Inachus. They supposed her travels to commence from [8] Argos; and then described her as proceeding in a retrograde direction towards the east. The ling of her procedure may be seen in the Prometheus of Æschylus: which account, if we change the order of the rout, and collate it with other histories, will be found in great measure consonant to the truth. It contains a description of the Iönim abovementioned; who, at various times, and in different bodies, betook themselves very early to countries far remote. One part of their travel is about Ararat and Caucasus; and what were afterwards called the Gordiæan mountains. In these parts the ark rested: and here the expedition should commence. The like story was told by the Syrians of Astarte; by the Egyptians of Isis. They were all three one and the same personage; and their histories of the same purport. [9] Quæ autem de Iside ejusque erroribus Ægyptii, eadem ferè de Astarte Phœnices, de Iöne Græci fabulantur. The Greeks for the most part, and particularly the Athenians, pretended to be αυτοχθονες, the original inhabitants of their country: but they had innumerable evidences to

[8] By the travels of Iö from Argus is signified the journeying of mankind from the ark.

[9] Marshami Can. Chron. Sæc. 1. p. 42.

contradict this notion; and to shew, that they were by no means the first, who were seized of those parts. Their best historians ingenuously own, that the whole region, called Hellas, was originally occupied by a people of another race, whom they styled [10] Βαρβαροι: that their own ancestors came under different denominations, which they took from their mode of worship. Among others were the Iönim, called in after times Ionians. They were supposed to have been led by one Iön, the son of Zeuth, styled by the Greeks Xuthus: but what was alluded to under the notion of that person, may be found from the history given of him. Tatian imagines, that he came into Greece about the time of Acrisius, when Pelops also arrived: [11] κατα δε Ακρισιον ἡ Πελοπος απο Φρυγιας διαβασις, και Ιωνος εις τας Αθηνας αφιξις. This arrival of Iön was a memorable æra among the Grecians; and always esteemed subsequent to the first peopling of the [12] country. Iön in the play of Euripides is men-

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[10] Σχεδον δε τι και ἡ συμπασα Ἑλλας κατοικια, Βαρβαροι ἱπηρξε το παλαιον. Strabo. l. 7. p. 494. Παλαι γαρ της νυν καλουμενης Ἑλλαδος Βαρβαροι τα πολλα ὡκησαν. Pausan. l. 1. p. 100. Αρκαδιαι Βαρβαροι ὡκησαν. Schol. in Appollon. Rhod. l. 4. v. 264. Ἡ δ' εν Βοιωτια πρωτερον μεν ὑπο Βαρβαρω ὡκειτο. Strabo. l. 9 p. 615. See further evidences in Vol. I. p. 187, of this work: and p. 225. See also the treatise inscribed Cadmus, Vol. II.

[11] Tatian. p. 274.

[12] Clem. Alexandr. Strom. l. 1. p. 381. Herodot. l. 7. c. 94.

tioned as the son of Xuthus, but claimed by Apollo, as his offspring. In reality, both Xuthus and Apollo, as well as Dionusus and Osiris, were titles of the same person. Xuthus tells his son, that he shall give him the name of Iön, or Iöne, from his meeting him fortunately, as he came out of the temple of the Deity:

[13] Ιωνα δ' ονομαζω σε τη τυχη πρεπον,
Ὅθ' ἵνεκ' αὐτων εξιοντι μοι Θεου
Ιχνος συνηψας πρωτος.

He likewise in another place mentions, that his son was called Iön from an auspicious encounter:

[14] Ιων', επειπερ πρωτος ηντησεν πατρι.

It is true, the poet would fain make the name of Grecian etymology, and deduce it from the word ιοντι, to which it had no relation. The truth he so far accedes to, as to own that it had a reference to something auspicious; and that it signified an omen, or token of good fortune. There are some other remarkable circumstances, which are mentioned of this Iön. He was exposed in an Ark; and in the Ark said to have been crowned, not with laurel, as

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[13] Euripid. Iön. v. 661.
[14] Ibid. v. 802.

we might expect the reputed son of Apollo to have been ornamented, but with olive:

[15] Στεφανον Ελαιας αμφεθηκα σοι τοτε.

From these two, Xuthus and his son Iön, the Dorians, Achæans, and Ionians were said to be descended. Hence Apollo is made to prophesy in this manner of these nations to come, addressing himself to Creusa:

[16] τωδε δ' ονοματος χαριν
Ιωνες ονομασθεντες ἑξουσι κλεος.
Ξουθῳ δε και σοι γιγνεται κοινον γενος·
Δωρος μεν, ενθεν Δωρις ὑμνηθησεται
Πολις, κατ' αιαν Πελοπιαν δ' ὁ δευτερος
Αχαιος.

It has been a prevailing notion, that the Ionians were of the family of Javan. His sons certainly settled in Greece; but they were the original inhabitants: whereas the Dorians and Ionians confessedly succeeded to a country, which had been in the possession of others. They were therefore a

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[15] Euripid. Iön. v. 1434.

[16] Ibid. v. 1587.

different people, notwithstanding the similitude, which may subsist between the two names. There is a remarkable passage in the Chronicon Paschale, which determines very satisfactorily the history of the Ionians. The author says, that according to the most genuine accounts, they were a colony brought by Iönan from Babylonia. This Iönan was one of those, who had been engaged in the building of Babel, at the time, when the language of mankind was confounded. [17] Ιωνες δε τετων (Ἑλληνων) αρχηγοι γεγενηνται, ὡς ὁ ακριβης εχει λογος, απο τε Ιωναν, ἑνος ανδρος των τον Πυργον οικοδομησαντων, ὁτε αἱ γλωσσαι διεμερισθησαν των ανθρωπων. He moreover says, that the Hellenes in general were denominated απο ελαιας, *from the olive.* It is very certain, that some of the Hellenes, and especially the [18] Athenians, were styled Säitæ: not from the city Säis, as is commonly supposed;

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[17] Chron. Pasch. p. 49.

[18] The Athenians brought the rites of Damater from Egypt to Eleusis; which was possessed by a different race: Others say, that they were introduced by Eumolpus. Κατοικησαι δε την Ελευσινα ἱστορυσι πρωτον μεν τυς αυτοχθονας, ειτα Θρακας τυς μετ' Ευμολπυ παραγενομενυς προς βοηθειαν εις τον κατ' Ερεχθεως πολεμον. Τινες δε φασι και τον Ευμολπον ἑυρειν την μυησιν την συντελυμενην κατ' ενιαυτον ἐν Ελευσινι Δημητρι και Κορη. Acusilaus apud Natal. Com. l. 5. c. 14. p. 279. The Eumolpidæ were originally from Egypt, and brought these rites from that country. Diodorus Sic. l. 1. p. 25.

but from the province of Säit, in [19] Upper Egypt, which is by interpretation *the Land of the Olive.* [20] Φασι τας Αθηναιας αποικας ειναι Σαϊτων των εξ Αιγυπτε. The building of Babel is in [21] Scripture attributed to Nimrod, the first tyrant upon earth; and it was carried on by his associates the Cuthite Iönim. They were the first innovators in religion; and introduced idolatry wherever they came. We accordingly find, that they were the persons, who first infected Greece. [22] Ιωνες δε οι εκ της Ιας των Ελληνων αρχηγοι γεγονοτες τοις ξοανοις προσεκυνουν. *The Ionians, who were denominated from Iön (or Iönah), and who were the heads of the Hellenic families, were the first worshippers of idols.* I render the verb, προσεκυνουν, *the first worshippers:* for so much is certainly implied. The tower of Babel was probably designed for an observatory; and at the same time for a temple to the host of heaven. For it is said of Chus, that he was the

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[19] Of Säit in Upper Egypt, see Observations and Inquiries relating to various Parts, &c. in Vol. VI. of this edition.

[20] Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 24. Πλην των μετοικησαντων υστερον εκει Σαϊτων, και κατοικησαντων την της Ελλαδος μητροπολιν Αθηνας, και τας Θηβας. See Euseb. Chron. p. 12. See also the account from Theopompus of the Athenians from Egypt, in Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 10. c. 10. p. 491.

[21] Genes. c. 10. v. 8. &c.

[22] Euseb. Chron. p. 13.

first observer of the stars: and his descendents the Chaldeans were famous in their day. Some attribute the invention of it to Ham, styled [23] Ionichus. [24] Hic Ionichus accepit á Domino donum sapientiæ, et invenit astronomiam. Hic Gigantem Nimrod decem cubitorum proceritate, et nepotem ejus ad se venientem erudivit, docuitque quibus in locis regnare deberet. Multa etiam prævidit et prædixit. The author of the [25] Fasciculus Temporum mentions Ionichus as the son of Noah. Iste Ionichus fuit filius Noe (de quo Moyses tacet) sapiens. Primò post Diluvium astronomiam invenit: et quædam futura prævidit; maximè de ortu quatuor regnorum, et eorum occasu. Cumque pater dedisset ei munera, ivit in terram Etham; et habitavit ibi, gentem constituens. Hic fertur consilium dedisse Nimroth, quomodo regnare possit.

The same history is to be found in the [26] Nurenberg Chronicle, printed in the year 1483: the author of which says, that Ionichus went to the land of Etham, and founded there a kingdom: and adds, hæc enim Heliopolis, id est, Solis terra. This, if attended to, will appear a curious and precise

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[23] Centesimo anno tertiæ chiliadis genuit Noe filium ad similitudinem suam, quem appellavit Ionichum. Ex Method. Martyre Comest. Hist. Schol. c. 37.

[24] Methodius Martyr.

[25] Fasciculus Temporum impress. A. D. 1474.

[26] P. 14.

history. The antients continually give to one person, what belonged to many. Under the character of Ionichus are meant the Amonians; those sons of Ham, who came into Egypt; but particularly the Cuthites, the Iönim from Chaldea. They came to the land of Etham, and built the city, named Heliopolis, in the province of Zoan. Etham is mentioned by Moses; and was the first place in the [27] desert, at which the Israelites halted, after they had left Succoth. The author of the Fasciculus says, that *Ionichus was a son of Noah, of whom Moses makes no mention.* The truth is, it was only a different name for a person often mentioned: for Ionichus was Ham: and as titles were not uniformly confined to one person, it is probable that Chus also was included under this characteristic. Ionichus seems to be a compound of Iön-Nechus; and is undoubtedly a term, by which the head of the Iönim was distinguished.

From hence, I think, we may be assured, that the Ionians were not of the race of Javan, as has been generally imagined. The latter were the original inhabitants of Greece: and to them the Ionians succeeded; who were a colony from Babylonia first, and afterwards from Egypt, and Syria. There is a passage in Cedrenus, similar to that quoted above; shewing that the Iönim, the descendents

[27] Exod. c. 13. v. 20.

of Ionah, were the first idolaters upon earth; and that they were upbraided by Plutarch for their defection from the purer worship. [28] Ιωνες δε, οι εκ της Ις (it should be Ιωνας), οιστισι μεμφεται ὁ Χαιρωνησιος Πλουταρχος, ὡς πλανην αγαλματων τισιν εισαγουσι, τας κατ' αρχας φωτηρας θεοποιουμενοι, τον Ἡλιον και την Σεληνην. *The Ionians are the descendents of Iöna; and are the people, with whom Plutarch of Chæronea is so offended, for being the first, who seduced mankind to idolatry, by introducing the sun and moon, and all the stars of heaven, as deities.* They were the authors of that species of idolatry, styled Hellenismus, of which I have before treated. These histories, backed with many other evidences shew, I think, manifestly, that the Ionians were Iönim, a colony from Babylonia. They seem therefore to have been distinguished from the sons of Javan, by being styled Ιωνες, Iones; whereas the others were styled Ιαονες: though this distinction is not, I believe, uniformly kept up. The people of Bœotia in the time of Homer were Iönim, and the Iäones seem by that poet to be mentioned as a different race:

[29] Ενθα δε Βοιωτοι και Ιαονες ἑλκεχιτωνες.

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[28] Cedren. vol. I. p. 46. See also Euseb. Chron. p. 14.

[29] Homer. Iliad. N. v. 685.

And Attica is said by Strabo to have been called both Ionia, and Ias: [30] ἡ γαρ Αττικὴ το παλαιον Ιωνια και Ιας εκαλειτο. We find from hence, that it had two names; the latter of which, I should imagine, was that by which the primitive inhabitants were called. The Grecians continually changed the final into sigma: whence יָן, Ian, or Javan, has been rendered Ias. It was originally expressed, Ιαν, and Ιαων: and this was the antient name of Hellas, and the Helladians; as we may infer from its being so called by people of other countries: for foreigners abide long by antient terms. And according to the Scholiast upon Aristophanes, the Grecians in every country but their own were styled Iäones; by which undoubtedly is meant the sons of Javan. [31] Παντας τυς Ἕλληνας Ιαονας οἱ Βαρβαροι εκαλεν. The like evidence is to be found in Hesychius: [32] επιεικως δε οἱ Βαρβαροι τυς Ἕλληνας Ιαννας λεγεσιν. *All foreigners very justly call the Grecians Iannes.* He had before mentioned, Ιαννα—Ἑλληνικη, επει Ἰαννας τυς Ἕλληνας λεγεσιν. Ianna is certainly the land of Javan: and the purport of what this writer here mentions is, that *Hellas was of old called Ian, or Javan; because the natives were esteemed Iannes*, or Javanes; being the posterity of the person so named. Ste-

[30] Strabo. l. 9. p. 600.

[31] Schol. in Acharn. v. 106.

[32] It is so corrected by Heinsius.

Epiphanius also mentions Ιαων, and Ιηων: εκ δε τε Ιαων, Ιων. From the above it is very plain, that by the Iaones were meant all the antient inhabitants of Greece; all that were the offspring of Ian, or Javan. But the Iones and Ionia related only to a part. [33] Ιωνες· Αθηναιοι· οι Ιωνες, απο Ιωνος. Ενιοι και τες Θρακας, και Αχαιες, και Βοιωτες, Ἑλληνας. The term Iones came from Ion; who was the reputed son of Xuth, as I have before shewn: and it was a name appropriated to some few of the Grecian families; and not uniformly bestowed upon all, though by some it was so used. The Iaones, or sons of Javan, were the first, who peopled the country, and for a while a distinct race. But when the Ionians afterwards joined them, and their families were mixed; we must not wonder if their names were confounded. They were however never so totally incorporated, but what some separate remains of the original stock were here and there to be perceived: and [34] Strabo says, that this was to be observed even in the age when he lived.

There are some remarkable truths, which have been gleaned up by Joannes Antiochenus: and we shall find them to be worth our notice; as they relate to the origin of those people, who brought

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[33] Hesych.

[34] Και της εν τω παροντι Ἑλλαδος αναντιλεκτως ουσης την πολλην οι Βαρβαροι εχουσι. Strabo, l. 7. p. 495.

idolatry into Greece. It was, he says, introduced [35] απο τινος Ἑλληνος ονοματι, υἱε και αυτε Πηκε Διος, μυσικα τινα ποιεντος ανδρος, των εν Ἑλλαδι κατοικησαντων, εκ της φυλης οντος τε Ιαφεθ, υἱε Νωε τε πρωτε. He has in some degree confounded the history, in making the chief ancestor of the Grecians of the line of Japhet. The name, which misled him, and many others, was Αιπυτος, and Ιαπετος: of which I have taken notice before. It was a title given to the heads of all families, who from hence were styled Iapeti genus. But writers have not uniformly appropriated this appellation: but have sometimes bestowed it upon other personages; such however as had no relation to the line of Japhet. It may be difficult to determine, whom they most particularly meant: but thus much we are informed; [36] Ιαπετος, εις των Τιτανων. *Iapetus was one of the Titanic race.* [37] Ιαπετος αρχαιος ην, εις των Γιγαντων. *He was a person of great antiquity, and of the Giant brood.* Hence by the Iapetidæ, the sons of Ham and Chus are undoubtedly alluded to: and the Grecians were manifestly of the same race. The author above proceeds afterwards more plainly to shew, who were the persons, that led these colonies into Greece: and propagated there the

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[35] P. 66.

[36] Schol. in Hom. Iliad. Θ. v. 479. Ιαπετος αρχηγος. Hesych.

[37] Lexicon inedit. apud Albert. in Hesych.

various species of irreligion. [38] Ιωνες δε οι εκ της Ιω (the term Ιωνες could not be formed from Ιω: it should here, and in all places, be expressed εκ της ΙΩΝΑΣ) τουτων αρχηγοι εγενοντο· ησαν γαρ διδαχθεντες εκ τε ΙΩΑΝΕΩΣ γιγαντος, τε οικοδομησαντος συν τοις αλλοις τον Πυργον, ων τινων και γλωσσαι διεμεριςθησαν. *The Iones, so denominated from Iöna, were the leaders of those colonies; they had been instructed by Iöannes one of the Giant race; the same person, who with his associates built the tower, and who, together with them, was punished by a confusion of speech.*

It may be here proper to observe, in respect to the history of the Ark and Deluge, as well as of the Tower abovementioned, that we are not so much to consider, to whom these circumstances could perhaps in general relate; as who they were, that chose to be distinguished by these memorials; and most industriously preserved them. They were the offspring of one common father: and all might equally have carried up their line of descent to the same source; and their history to the same period. But one family more than all the rest of the Gentile world retained the memory of these events. They built edifices, in order to commemorate the great occurrences of antient days: and they instituted rites, to maintain a veneration for the means, by

[38] Joan. Antioch. p. 66.

which their ancestors had been preserved. Nothing material was omitted: and when they branched out, and retired to different climes, they took to themselves names and devices, which they borrowed from the circumstances of this wonderful history. Hence, when we meet with Iones, Ionitæ, Argëi, Arcades, Inachidæ, Semarim, Bœoti, Thebani, and the like; we may be certified of their particular race: and in the accounts transmitted concerning them, there will be found a continual series of evidence, to determine us in our judgment.

The Grecians were, among other titles, styled Hellenes, being the reputed descendents of Hellen. The name of this personage is of great antiquity; and the etymology foreign. To whom the Greeks alluded, may be found from the histories, which they have transmitted concerning him. [39] Γινονται δε εκ Πυῤῥας Δευκαλιωνι παιδες· Ἑλλην μεν πρωτος, ὁν εκ Διος γεγενησθαι λεγεσι,—Θυγατηρ δε Πρωτογενεια. *Deucalion had children by his wife Pyrrha; the eldest of whom was Hellen, whom some make the son of Zeuth: he had also a daughter Protogeneia;* by which is signified *the first-born of women.* By [40] others he was supposed to have been the son of Prometheus, but by the same mother. In these

[39] Apollodor. l. 1. p. 20.

[40] Προμηθεως και Πυῤῥας Ἑλλην Schol. in Apollon. Rhod. l. 3. v. 1085.

accounts there is no inconsistency; for I have shewn, that Deucalion, Prometheus, Xuth, and Zeuth were the same person. The histories are therefore of the same amount; and relate to the head of the Amonian family, who was one of the sons of the person called Deucalion. He is made coeval with the Deluge; and represented as the brother to the first-born of mankind: by which is meant the first-born from that great event: for the Deluge was always the ultimate, to which they referred. The Hellenes were the same as the Iönim, or [41] Ιωνες: whence Hesychius very properly mentions Ιωνας, Ἑλληνας. *The Ionians and Hellenes are the same family.* The same is to be said of the Æolians, and Dorians: they were all from one source, being descended from the same Arkite ancestors, the Iönim of Babylonia and Syria; as the Phœnician women in Euripides acknowledge:

[42] Κοινον αιμα, κοινα τεκεα
Τας κερασφορε τεφυκεν Ιας.

The term Hellen was originally a sacred title: and seems to have been confined to those priests, who

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[41] They were equally descended from Ion, the son of Zeuth, called also Xuth: απο Ιωνος τε Ξεθε φυντες. Dicæarch. ap. Geogr. Vet. vol. 2. p. 21.

[42] Phœniss. v. 256. Ιωνια—απο Ιωνος τε Ξεθε. Φασι δε Δευκαλιωνος μεν Ἑλληνα ειναι. Strabo. l. 8. p. 587.

first came from Egypt; and introduced the rites of the Ark, and [43] Dove at Dodona. They were called also Elli and Selli: under the former of which titles they are mentioned by Hesychius; Ἕλλοι· Ἕλληνες, οἱ ἐν Δωδώνῃ, καὶ οἱ Ἱερεῖς. This country was the first [44] Hellas; and here were the original Hellenes; and from them the title was derived to all of the Grecian name. Aristotle affords evidence to this: and at the same time mentions their traditions about the Deluge, ὁ καλυμενος ὑπο Δευκαλιωνος; which he thinks chiefly prevailed about the country of the Hellenes in Dodona, and the other parts of Epirus. [45] Και γαρ ἑτος ωερι τον Ἑλληνικον εγενετο μαλιςα τοπον· και τυτε ωερι την ΕΛΛΑΔΑ την ΑΡΧΑΙΑΝ. Αυτη δ' εςιν ἡ ωερι την Δωδωνην, και τον Αχελωον· ωκεν γαρ οἱ Σελλοι ενταυθα,

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[43] Hence the Dove Dione was said to share the honour with Zeuth in that country. Συναος τῳ Διϊ ωροσαπεδειχθη και ἡ Διωνη. Strabo. l. 7. p. 506.

[44] Ἕλλα (or Ἕλλας) Διος ἱερον εν Δωδωνῃ. Hesych. Ἕλλας μεν ουν εςιν, ὡσπερ μικρῳ ωροτερον ειρηκαμεν, ἡν ὁ Διος Ἕλλην ἐκτισεν. Dicæarch. ap Vet. Geogr. vol. 2. p. 22.

The original name was Ἕλλαν,

Ἕλλας αφ' Ἕλληνος. Ibid.

The people of Thessaly had also the name of Hellenes.

Μυρμιδονες δε καλευντο, και Ἕλληνες. Hom. Il. b. v. 684.

Some suppose these to have been the first of the name. Πρωτοι ἐτως ελεγοιτο οἱ εν Θεσσαλιᾳ ανθρωποι. Breviorum Schol. Auctor.

[45] Aristot. Meteorol. l. 1. c. 14. p. 772.

και οι καλουμενοι τοτε μεν Γραικοι, νυν δε Ἑλληνες. *The Deluge prevailed greatly in the Hellenic region; and particularly in that part called Antient Hellas. This is the country, which lies about Dodona, and upon the river Acheloüs. It was inhabited by the Selli, who were then styled Græci, but now Hellenes.* He expresses himself, as if the name of Hellenes were of later date than that of Græci. But if the region was originally called Hellas, the name of Hellenes, I should apprehend, was coæval. The people, who resided here, the Aborigines, were of another family; and are therefore by Strabo styled Βαρβαροι, Barbari. These were the Dodanim, of the race of Javan: but the temple was founded by people from Egypt and Syria, the [46] Ellopians, Pelasgi, and [47] Hellenes.

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[46] Of the Ellopians see Strabo. l. 7. 505.

Εστι τις Ελλοπιη πολυλἠιος, ηδ' ευλειμων——
Ενθα τε Δωδωνη.

From the μεγαλαι Ηοιαι in Schol. Sophocl. Trachin. v. 1183.

[47] We meet with Hellenes in Syria. Εστι και αλλη πολις Συριας Ἑλλας κοιλης Συριας· το εθνικον Ἑλλην. Steph. Byzant.

OF

THE DORIANS,

PELASGI, CAUCONES, MYRMIDONES,

AND

ARCADIANS.

AS every colony, which went abroad, took to themselves some sacred title, from their particular mode of worship; one family of the Hellenes styled themselves accordingly Dorians. They were so named from the Deity Adorus, who by a common aphæresis was expressed 'Dorus. The country, when they arrived, was inhabited by a people of a different race; whom they termed, as they did all nations in contradistinction to themselves, Βαρβαροι, Barbarians. [1] Παλαι γαρ της νυν καλεμενης Ἑλλαδος Βαρβαροι τα πολλα ῳκησαν. With these original inhabitants they had many conflicts; of which we may see some traces in the history of the Heraclidæ. For the Dorians were the same as the Herculeans:

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[1] Pausan. l. 1. p. 100.

and did not settle in Greece only; but in many parts of the world, whither the Amonians in general betook themselves. They were taken notice of by Timagenes: who mentions that they were widely scattered; but that the chief places of their residence were upon the sea-coast of the Mediterranean. Here they possessed many good ports for navigation. [2] Alii (ferunt) Dorienses antiquiorem secutos Herculem, oceani locos inhabitâsse confines. Pausanias imagines that the Dorians were comparatively of late date: yet he shews, from many evidences in different parts of his Antiquities, that they were high in the mythic age: and informs us of one curious particular, that all the antient hymns of Greece in every province were in the [3] dialect of this people. From hence I should infer, in opposition to this learned antiquary, they were as antient as any branch of their family; that their language was true Hellenic; and that it was once universally spoken. Their history is not to be confined to Greece: for

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[2] Marcellin. l. 15. c. 9. Plato de Leg. l. 3. p. 682. gives another history of the Dorians. Bochart excepts to this account from Marcellinus: but without any good reason. Geogr. Sacr. l. 1. c. 41. p. 659.

[3] Και δη και ταυτα φερασαι επι τωδε, τα επη, και ὁσα μετα μετρου μεμιγμενα ην τοις επεσι, τα παντα ΔΩΡΙΣΤΙ επιποιητο. Pausan. l. 2. p. 199.

they were to be found in [4] Phenicia, [5] Caria, [6] Crete, and [7] Hetruria. In Greece they settled about Parnassus, called Tithorea; and afterwards in Pthiotis of Thessaly, the supposed country of Deucalion. They forced themselves into Laconia, and Messenia: in the latter of which provinces the Dorian language was retained in the greatest [8] purity: and from their history are to be obtained more antient terms than can be elsewhere collected.

The Grecian writers, when they treat of the principal of their ancestors, suppose Hellen to have been the son of Deucalion, and Iön the son of Xuthus. Dōrus is introduced a degree later, and made the son of Hellen. But in these points scarce any two authors are consistent. In reality, Xuthus, and Deucalion were the same person: and Iön,

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[4] Δωρος, πολις Φοινικης· Ἑκαταιος,—και ἐτως Ιωσηπος αυτην καλει, κ.τ.λ. Steph. Byzant. Called also Dora.

[5] Εστι δε Καριας Δωρος πολις, κ.τ.λ. Ibid.

[6] Και οι Κρητες Δωριεις εκαλουντο. Ibid. Δωριον.

Δωριεες τε τριχαϊκες, διοι τε Πελασγοι· Hom. Odyss. T. v. 177.

See Strabo. l. 10. p. 729.

[7] Herodot. l. 1. c. 57. Δωριεις δ' εισιν (οι Ῥοδιοι), ὡσπερ και Αλικαρνασσεις, και Κνιδιοι. Strabo. l. 14. p. 965. A city Dora in the Persic Gulf. Another in Palestine, between Ascalon and Joppa. Παυσανιας δε εν τη της πατριδος αυτου κτισει Δωριεις αυτους καλει, τηδε γραφων, Τυριοι, Ασκαλωνιται, Δωριεις·—και Αλιξανδρος εν Ασιη,

Δωρος τ', Αγχιαλος τ', Ιοπη, πρευχουσα θαλαττη. Steph. Byz.

[8] Pausan. l. 4. p. 346. 347.

Dorus, Hellen, were terms imported into Greece; and related not to any particular. But though these genealogies are groundless, and these persons ideal; yet we may hereby plainly discover, to what the history ultimately relates. And of this we may be assured from almost every writer upon the subject; that the Dorians, like their brethren the Iönim, were not the first occupiers of the country. They were colonies from Egypt: and Herodotus speaks of all the heads and leaders of this people as coming directly from thence. He takes his epocha from the supposed arrival of Perseus and Danae: and says, that all the principal persons of the Dorian family upwards were in a direct line from Egypt. [9] Απο δε Δαναης της Ακρισιη καταλεγοντι τας ανω αιει πατερας αυτεων φαινοιατο αν εοντες οι των Δωριεων ηγεμονες Αιγυπτιοι ιθαγενεες. He proceeds to say, that Perseus was originally from Assyria, according to the traditions of the Persians. [10] Ως δε ο Περσεων λογος λεγεται, αυτος ο Περσευς, εων Ασσυριος, εγενετο Ελλην. The like is said, and with great truth, of the Heraclidæ; who are represented by Plato as of the same race, as the Achaimenidæ of Persis. [11] Το δε Ηρακλεος το γενος και το Αχαιμενης εις Περσεα τον Διος αναφερεται. The Persians therefore and the Grecians

[9] Herodot. l. 6. c. 53.

[10] Ibid. c. 54.

[11] Plat. Alcibiad. v. 2. p. 120. See also Pausan. l. 2. p. 151

were in great measure of the same family, being equally Cuthites from Chaldea: but the latter came last from Egypt. This relation between the two families may be further proved from [12] Herodotus. He indeed speaks of Perseus becoming an Hellenian; as if it were originally a term appropriated, and limited to a country, and related to the soil which notion occurs more than once. But Hellen was the title of a family; and, as I have shewn, of foreign derivation: and it was not Perseus, nor Iön, nor Dorus, who came into Greece: but a race of people, styled Iönians, Dorians, and Peresians. These were the Αιγυπτιοι ἀλαγεις; but came originally from Babylonia and Chaldea; which countries in aftertimes were included under the general name of Assyria. The Peresians were Arkites: whence it is said of Perseus, that after having been exposed upon the waters, he came to Argos, and there upon Mount Apesas first sacrificed to Jupiter. The same story is told by Arrian of Deucalion; who after his escape from the waters, sacrificed in the same place to Jupiter Aphesius. [13] Arrianus tamen in libro secundo rerum Bithynicarum Deucalionem in arcem, locumque eminentiorem tunc Argi confugisse inquit ex eo diluvio: quare post illam inundationem *Jovi Aphesio* Liberatori scilicet, aram erexisse.

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[12] Herodot. l. 7. c. 150.

[13] Natal. Com. l. 8. c. 17 p. 466.

When these colonies settled in Greece, they distinguished themselves by various titles, which at different æras more or less prevailed. Some were called [14] Caucones. They resided about Messenia, near the river Minyas, and the city Aren; and betray their original in their name. Others were called [15] Leleges, and were a people of great antiquity. They were supposed to have been conducted by one Lelex, who by Pausanias is mentioned as the first king in Laconia, and said to have come from [16] Egypt. There was a remarkable passage in Hesiod, which is taken notice of by Strabo, concerning these Leleges. They were some of that chosen family, whom Jupiter is said in his great wisdom to have preserved, out of a particular regard to that man of the sea, Deucalion.

[17] Τὰς ῥα ποτε Κρονιδης Ζευς, αφθιτα μηδεα εἰδως,
Λεκτας εκ γαιης ἁλιῳ πορε Δευκαλιωνι.

The Iönim are sometimes spoken of under the name of Atlantians; who were the descendents of

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[14] Strabo. l. 7. p. 519, and 531. Αχαδικον γενος. They were denominated from their temple Cau-Con, Ædes Hercules, sive Domus Dei.

[15] Pausan. l. 3. p. 203.

[16] Λελεγα, αφικομενον εξ Αιγυπτου. Pausan. l. 1. p. 95.

[17] Strabo. l. 7. p. 496. So the passage should be read.

Atlas, the great astronomer, and general benefactor. He was supposed to have been a king in Arcadia; also to have resided in Phrygia: but the more common opinion is, that he was an antient prince in Mauritania upon the borders of the ocean. The Grecians made a distinction between the Heraclidæ, Atlantes, and Iönes: but they were all of the same family; all equally descended from Iönan, the same as Hellen, the same also as Pelias, the offspring of the Dove. Hence the children of Atlas were styled Peleiadæ, being no other than the Iönes; of whose history and peregrinations I have before given some [18] account. Diodorus, and other writers speak of the Peleiadæ, as only the female branch of the family: but all the children of Atlas had equal claim to the title. For Atlas was Iön: and in the history of the Atlantians, we have an epitome of the whole Iönic history; comprehending their connexions, colonies, and settlements in various parts of the world. Diodorus accordingly tells us, [19] *that the Atlantides gave birth to a most noble race: some of whom were founders of nations; and others the builders of cities; insomuch that most of the more antient heroes, not only of those abroad, who were esteemed* BARBARI; *but even of the Helladians, claimed their ancestry from*

[18] See Vol. III.

[19] Diodorus Sic. l. 3. p. 194.

them. In another place, speaking of the Pleiadæ, he [20] says, *These daughters of Atlas, by their connexions, and marriages with the most illustrious heroes, and divinities, may be looked up to as the heads of most families upon earth.* This is a very curious history; and shews how many different regions were occupied by this extraordinary people, of whom I principally treat.

Some of them were styled Myrmidones, particularly those who settled in Æmonia, or Thessaly. They were the same as the Hellenes, and Achivi; and were indifferently called by either of those appellations, as we learn from [21] Pliny, and Homer.

[22] Μυρμιδονες δε καλευντο, και Ἑλληνες, και Αχαιοι.

They first settled about the cities [23] Iäolcus, and Arene: and they had a tradition of their being descended from one [24] Myrmidon, a king of the

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[20] Diodorus Sic. l. 3. p. 194.

[21] Pliny. l. 4. c. 7. p. 199. Philostratus says, that all the Thessalians were called Myrmidons. Heroïc. c. 11. p. 682.

[22] Iliad. B. v. 684.

[23] Πασα δ' Μυρμιδονων τε πολις, κλειτη τ' Ιαωλκος,
Αρνη τ', ηδ' Ἑλικη, Αιθειατε ποιησσα. Hesiod. Ασπις. v. 380.

[24] A rege Myrmidone dicti —— Jovis et Eurymedusæ filio. Servius in Æneid. l. 1. v. 7. so it should be read, as we learn from Clemens. Cohort. p. 34. Τον Δια—Ευρυμεδουσῃ μιγηναι, και Μυρμηδονα γεννησαι.

country. This term was not only a proper name, but also signified an ant or pismire; which gave occasion to much fable. It was by the antient Dorians expressed [25] Murmedon. Now Mur, Mar, Mor, however varied, signified of old the sea: and Mur-Medon denotes Maris Dominum, *the great Lord of the Ocean.* It is a title, which relates to the person, who was said to have first constructed a ship, and to have escaped the waters. He was the same as Deucalion, whom they imagined to have resided in the same parts, after he had been driven by a flood to Mount Œta. The Myrmidons are sometimes represented as the children of Æacus: and are said to have first inhabited the island of Ægina. It is mentioned of this personage, that having lost all his people by a public calamity, he requested of Jupiter, that the ants of the island might become [26] men; which wish was accordingly granted to him. Who was alluded to under the name of Æacus, may be known from the history transmitted concerning him. He is represented as a person of great justice; and by the poets is supposed for his equity to have been made judge of the infernal world. He is said to have collected people together: [27] ἐξημερῶσαι τε, καὶ νόμους δοῦναι, καὶ

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[25] Μυρμηδόνες, οἱ μυρμηκες ὑπο Δωριεων. Hesych.

[26] Scholia in Lycoph. v. 176. Scholia in Iliad. L. A. v. 180.

[27] Scholia in Pind. Nem. Od. 3 v. 21.

συνταξιν πολιτικην· *also to have humanised mankind, and to have enacted laws, and to have first established civil polity.* This is precisely the same character, as we have before seen given to Uranus, Atlas, Osiris, Dionusus, Saturnus, Phoroneus, Janus: all which are titles of the same person, by whom the world was renewed, and from whom law and equity were derived. Both Æacus and Mur-Medon were the same as Deucalion: and all these characters are comprised in that of the Patriarch, the great benefactor, and just man; who is alluded to in every instance; particularly in the history of the first ship. This circumstance is observable in the account given of the Myrmidons, who are said to have first constructed ships, and from whom the art was made known to the world. The poet accordingly tells us,

[28] Οι δη τοι πρωτον ξευξαν νεας αμφιελισσας.

These first composed the manageable float.

Upon this supposition they had the name of Mur-Medons or Sea-Captains. But it was properly derived to them from their chief ancestor Mur-Me-

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[28] Hesiod. in Genealog. Heroic. See Scholia in Pindar. Nem. Od. 3. v. 21. also Scholia in Lycoph. v. 176.

dón; who first constructed an ark, and was esteemed the ruling Deity of the Sea.

The most general appellation, under which these colonies passed, before the name of Ionians and Dorians, and that still more universal of Hellenes, grew so predominant, was that of Pelasgi. They are represented indeed as a different people, and of another character: but this difference was not of persons, but of times. They were very numerous; and supposed to have been for a long time in a wandering state. Besides Hellas, they occupied many regions of great extent, where their name was in repute for ages. There were nations, called Leleges, Caucones, and Pelasgi in Asia Minor; who are mentioned by Homer among the allies of the Trojans;

[29] Και Λελεγες, και Καυκωνες, διοι τε Πελασγοι.

Strabo speaks of these Pelasgi as a mighty people; and says, [30] that, according to Menecrates Elaïtes, the whole coast of Ionia from Mycale, and all the neighbouring islands, were once inhabited by them.

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[29] Iliad. K. v. 429.

[30] Την παραλιαν την νυν Ιωνικην πασαν—ὑπο Πελασγων οικεισθαι προτερον, και τας πλησιον νησους. Strabo. l. 13. p. 922. The same is said of the Carians, and Leleges. Ητις νυν Ιωνια λεγομενη πασα ὑπο Καρων ωκειτο, και Λελεγων. Strabo. l. 7. p. 495.

They possessed the whole region of[31] Hetruria: nor do we know the ultimate, to which they were extended. [32] Αλλα οι μεν (φασι) Πελασγους επι πλειστα της οικουμενης πλανηθεντας, ανθρωπων των πλειστων κρατησαντας, αυτοθι κατοικησαι. *The Pelasgi*, says Plutarch, *according to antient tradition, roved over the greatest part of the world: and having subdued the inhabitants, took up their residence in the countries, which they had conquered.* Strabo speaks of their great antiquity; and says, that they overran all Greece: [33] Αρχαιον τι φυλον κατα την Ελλαδα πασαν επεπολασε. We may perceive from these accounts, that the Pelasgi were to be found in various parts: and that it was only a more general name for those colonies, which were of the dispersion, and settled under the title of Ioues, Hellenes, Leleges, and Argivi. Hence it is wonderful, that writers should esteem them as a different people. Herodotus has much perplexed their history; or else his account has been greatly interpolated: yet he acknowledges, that they had their rites and re-

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[31] Strabo. l. 5. p. 339. Σοφοκλης εν Ιναχω φησι, και οι Τυρσηνοι Πελασγοι. Scholia in Apollon. l. 1. v. 580. See also Herod. l. 1. c. 57.

[32] Plutarch. in Romulo. p. 17.

[33] L. 5. p. 337. Οι δε Πελασγοι των περι την Ελλαδα δυναστευσα. των αρχαιοτατοι. Ibid. l. 7. p. 504. Of their founding cities named Larissa, see ibid. l. 13. p. 922.

ligion from Egypt; and that from them they were derived to the Hellenes: [34] παρα δε Πελασγων Ἑλληνες εξεδεξαντο ὑστερον. The person, from whom this people are supposed to have been derived, and named, is by some represented as the son of Inachus; by others as the son of [35] Poseidon and Larissa. Staphylus Naucratites mentioned him under the name of Pelasgus; and said, that he was [36] Αργειον το γενος; which I should render, *of Arkite extraction*. Hence it is said of his posterity, the Argives; [37] και αυτοι οἱ Αργειοι εκαλεντο Πελασγοἱ· *that the Argives also were denominated Pelasgi.* They settled very early in Thessaly; to which they gave the name of Aëria; by Apollonius Rhodius expressed Ηερίη, Eërie.

[38] Αυτικα δ' Ηερίη πολυλήϊος αια Πελασγων
Δυετο.

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[34] L. 2. c. 52.

[35] Schol. in Apollon. Rhod. l. 1. v. 580. Πελασγε τε Ποσειδωνος υἱε και Λαρισσης. Some make him the father of Larissa: την δε ακροπολιν (της Αργους) Λαρισσαν μεν καλεσιν απο της Πελασγε θυγατρος. Pausan. l. 2. p. 165. Pelasgus, the son of Niobe. Dionys. Halicarn. l. 1. c. 1. p. 9. Of Larissa. p. 14.

[36] Schol. in Apollon. above. Ex Pelasgo Laris. Hygin. Fab. 145. p. 253.

[37] Schol. in Apollon. above.

[38] L. 1. v. 580.

This was the antient name of Egypt, from whence this people came. [39] Αιγυπτος εκληθη Μυσαρα, και Ηειρια. *Egypt was called both Mysara and Eëria.* The part of Thessaly, where they settled, was the supposed country of Deucalion, the same as Inachus: so that we need not wonder, when we find Pelasgus represented as an [40] Argean or Arkite by birth. They likewise, as I have mentioned, called the same country Ai Monah, Regio Lunaris; which the poets changed to Aimonia. At no great distance was a city Argos, and a nation Oritæ; from whence we may judge of the natives, and their origin.

[41] Ειτα μετα τετον εισιν Ορειται λεγομενοι·
Ειτ' Αμφιλοχοι, Αργος τ' εντευθ' εστι το
Αμφιλοχικον.

I have shewn, that all the country about Dodona was particularly styled Hellas; and it was at the same time called Pelasgia. The Oracle is said by Scymnus Chius to have been of Pelasgic original:

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[39] Steph. Byzant. See Schol. in Dionys. Perieg. v. 239.

[40] Ηγεντο δε της αποικιας Αχαιος, και Φθιος, και Πελασγος, οι ΛΑΡΙΣΣΗΣ και ΠΩΣΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ υιοι. Dionys. Halicarn. l. 1. c. 17. p. 14. Πελασγος εκ Διος και Νιοβης της Φοροωνεως. Ibid. They are all mentioned as the sons of Larissa, or of Niobe; both which terms denote *the children of the Ark.*

[41] Dicæarch. apud Geogr. Vet. vol. 2. v. 45.

[42] Ἡ τε Δωδωνη, Διος
Μαντειον, ἱδρυμ' εϛι δ' ϗν Πελασγικον.

The rites of the place were introduced from Egypt; as we are assured by Herodotus, and other writers: consequently the people, who founded the temple, and instituted those rites, were from the same country. The Deity was there worshipped under the title of Zeuth, whom Homer styles Pelasgic:

[43] Ζευ, Ανα, Δωδωναιε, Πελασγικε, τηλοθι ναιων,
Δωδωνης μεδεων δυσχειμερε.

The priestesses of the temple have been mentioned under the character of two black Doves, which came from Theba in Egypt. In short, the name of Pelasgi seems to have been the most antient and [44] general of any, which were assumed by those foreigners, who came into the land of Javan. They forced themselves into [45] countries pre-occupied: and were so superior to the natives in ability and

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[42] Apud Geogr. Vet. vol. 1. p. 26. v. 418.
Δωδωνην, φηγον τε, Πελασγων, ἱδρανον ἡκεν. Hesiod. apud Strab. l. 7. p. 504. See also l. 5. p. 338.

[43] Iliad. Π. v. 233.

[44] All the Peloponnesus according to Ephorus was esteemed Pelasgic. Και την Πελοποννησον δε Πελασγιαν φησιν Εφορος κληθηναι. Strab. l. 5. p. 338.

[45] See this certified in the Pelasgi, who came to Italy. Dionys Halicarn. l. 1. c. 10. p. 9. & 14.

science, that they easily secured themselves in their settlements. Many have been the inquiries about this antient people, as well as concerning their language. Even Herodotus is at a loss to determine whether they should not be esteemed [46] Barbarians. Yet he seems to solve the difficulty more than once; and this too in a very satisfactory manner, by mentioning, among other instances, [47] Ιωνες Πελασγοι, that *the Ionians were Pelasgic*; [48] το Αττικον εθνος Πελασγικον; *the people of Attica were Pelasgic.* He likewise speaks of the [49] Arcadians under this denomination: and seems to include all the Dorians, the whole of the [50] Peloponnesus, under the same title. He speaks also of the Æolians in the same light: [51] Αιολεες δε—το παλαι καλεομενοι Πελασγοι. From

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[46] He acknowledges his uncertainty about them. Ουκ εχω ατρεκεως ειπειν. l. 1. c. 57.

[47] L. 7. c. 95.

[48] L. 1. c. 57.

[49] Αρκαδες Πελασγοι. l. 1. c. 146. The Iones of Achaia were called Πελασγοι Αιγιαλεες. l. 7. c. 94. Pelasgi also in Crete, and in various regions. Strab. l. 5. p. 338.

[50] Herodot. l. 1. c. 56. He is speaking of the Dorians in the Peloponnesus, and of the Athenians; which two families he styles, το μεν Πελασγικον, το δε Ελληνικον εθνος. By this one would imagine, that he excluded the Athenians from being Pelasgic. The passage is very confused.

[51] L. 7. c. 95. All the coast of Phrygia was peopled by them. They built the cities Theba and Larissa in Troas.

Ιπποθοος δ' αγε φυλα Πελασγων εγχεσιμωρων,
Των, οι Λαρισσαν εριζωλακα ναιεταασκον. Hom. Il. B. v. 840.

hence we may be assured, that by the Pelasgi are meant the antient Dores, Iones, and Hellenes: in short, all those Cuthite colonies, and those of their collateral branches, which I include under the name of Amonians. When therefore it is said, that Greece was first occupied by Pelasgi; and afterwards by Leleges; and then by Hellenes, Dores, and Ionians; it is only a change of title, but no difference of people: for they were all of the same great family, however branched out. The same is to be observed in the history of any particular city, such as Athens.

[52] Ἐξης Αθην' ἀς φασιν οικετας λαβειν
Το μεν Πελασγας πρωτον, ἐς δη και λογος
Κραναας λεγεσθαι, μετα δε ταυτα Κεκροπιδας·
——— ὑστεροισι δε χρονοις
Απο της Αθηνας την προσηγοριαν λαβειν.

All these were different names of the same people. In like manner the people of Argos, in a play of Euripides, are addressed by Orestes, as the same race under different appellations.

[53] Ω γην Ιναχω κεκτημενοι,
Παλαι Πελασγοι, Δαναϊδαι δε δευτερον.

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[52] Scymnus Chius apud. Geogr. Vet. vol. i. p. 32. v. 558.

[53] Euripid. Orest. v. 930.

The like is to be observed in a passage from the Archelaus of the same author.

[54] Δαναος, ὁ πεντηκοντα θυγατερων πατηρ,
Ελθων ες Αργος ῳκισ' Ιναχιδ πολιν·
Πελασγιωτας δ' ωνομασμενους το πριν
Δαναους καλεισθαι νομον εθηκε.

In respect to the Arcadians, they are said to have been so named from [55] Arcas the son of Zeuth, being before called Pelasgians. But Pelasgus, who was prior, and the very [56] first man in the country, was called [57] Arcas: from which circumstance a strange inconsistency arises: for the country is supposed to have been called Arcadia, before the birth of the person, from whom the name was received. It is therefore plain that the term Arcas was a title; and that by Pelasgus Arcas was meant Pelasgus the [58] Arkite. And when the people of Phrygia and

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[54] Apud Strab. l. 5. p. 339.

[55] Pausanias. l. 8. p. 604.

[56] Πελασγος—εν τη γη ταυτη πρωτος. Ibid. l. 8. p. 598.

[57] Πελασγον—τον Αρκαδος. Ibid. l. 2. p. 143. Pausanias seems here to make him the son of Arcas. Either way it is inconsistent.

[58] Hera, the same as Iönah, is styled Pelasgis. It is said of Jason.

Ἡρης δε Πελασγιδος ευκ αλιγιζεν. Apollon. Rhod. l. 1. v. 14.

Hetruria were said to be [59] ανεκαθεν Αρκαδες; the true purport of the expression was, that they were ab origine Arkites. Neither Argolis, nor Arcadia, could have sufficed to have sent out the colonies which are said to have proceeded from them. They are supposed to have filled regions, before they were constituted as a people. The Grecians in their histories have been embarrassed and confounded with a variety of titles. They tried to separate them, and to form distinctions: by which means their mythology became more and more confused. The only way is to unite instead of diversifying: and to shew that these titles, however varied, were but one in purport: that they all related nearly to the same person, and to one event. By this method of proceeding we shall render the history both obvious and true. The accounts of which we have been treating, were adopted by the Grecians; and as it were ingrafted upon the history of the country: and the principal terms, in which they were described, were equally foreign and imported. I have mentioned, that by the appellation Arcas we are to understand an [60] Arkite: and who

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[59] Dionys. Halicarn. l. 1. c. 10. p. 9. Πελασγους ανεκαθεν Αρκαδας. Strab. l. 5. p. 337. and Schol. in Dionys. Perieg. v. 347.

[60] When it is said by Hyginus, Arcades res divinas primi Diis fecerunt; it only means, that the Arkites, the sons of Ham, were the first, who introduced polytheism. Hygin. c. 274. p. 387.

is principally alluded to under this character can only be known from the history, with which it is attended. We find this personage described in the same light as Dagon, Isis, Dionusus; and as Osiris, styled Orus, and Helius. He is represented as a great [61] benefactor to mankind: teaching them the use of corn, and consequently the arts of agriculture, which were before unknown. He likewise instructed them in weaving, in order to cloath themselves: and the whole manufacture of wool is attributed to him. His name was a title of the chief Gentile Divinity, like Helius Osiris, and Dionusus above: and he was worshipped with the same rites at Mantinea, near a temple of Juno: and in another of Zeuth the Saviour, there stood an high place sacred to Arcas: which in aftertimes was mistaken for his tomb. There seem to have been more than one; for they are spoken of in the plural: and what they really were may be known from their name; for they were called [62] Ἡλιου Βωμοι, *the altars of the Helius.* Arcas was supposed by his posterity to have been buried upon Mount Mænalus, which was undoubtedly denominated from him.

[63] Εστι δε Μαιναλιη δυσχειμερος, ενθατε κειται
Αρκας, αφ' ου δη παντες επικλησιν κκλεονται.

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[61] Pausan. l. 8. p. 604.
[62] Ibid. l. 8. p. 616.
[63] Oracle of Apollo; ibid.

Near the bleak Mount Mænalia lies entomb'd :
Arcas, from whom the natives have their name.

Mænalia, or more properly Mænalus, is a compound of Meen El: by which is signified Lunus Deus, another title of Arcas, the Arkite God, who had been worshipped upon that mountain.

From what has preceded, we may decypher the history of the Arcadians, who were the descendents of Arcas, and represented as prior to the [64] moon. They were styled [65] Minyæ, Selenitæ, and (Αρχαιοι) Archæi: and their antiquity is alluded to by Apollonius, when he mentions,

[66] Αρκαδες, οι και προσθε Σεληναιης ὑδεοντα ι Ζωειν.

Th' Arcadian tribes, who liv'd before the Moon.

This is the common interpretation; but properly by Selene, and Selenaia, is meant the Ark, of which the Moon was only an emblem: and from hence the

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[64] Orta prior lunâ, de se si creditur ipsi,
A magno tellus Arcade nomen habet. Ovid. Fast. l. 1. v. 469.
Lunâ gens prior illa fuit. Ibid. l. 2. v. 290.
Sidus post veteres Arcadas editum. Senec. Hippol. Act. 2. v. 785.

[65] Minyæ Arcades. Strabo. l. 8. p. 519.

[66] Apollon. Rhod. l. 4. v. 264.

Arkites had the appellation of Selenitæ. Dionysius Chalcidensis takes notice, that this name was preserved among the Arcadians. [67] Εθνος Αρκαδων Σελήνιτας. When therefore it is said by the antient writer Mnaseas, that this people were under a regal government, before the Moon appeared, προ [68] Σελήνης Αρκαδας βασιλευσαι· it only means, that their family originally existed, and were established under a monarchy, before the Arkite rites prevailed. This may be proved by determining the time, when Selene is said to have first made its appearance. This we find from Theodorus, and other writers, to have been a little while before the war of the Giants. [69] Θεοδωρος δε εν εικοστῳ, εννατῳ ολιγῳ προτερον φησι τα προς Γιγαντας πολεμε—την Σελήνην φανηναι. και Αριστων ὁ Χιος εν ταις Θεσεσι, και Διονυσος ὁ Χαλκιδευς εν πρωτῳ Κτισεως τα αυτα φησι. *Theodorus the Chalcidian, in his twenty-ninth book, tells us, that some little space antecedent to the war of the Giants, Selene first appeared: and Ariston the Chian, in his Theses, and Dionysius of Chalcis, in the first book of his treatise upon the Creation, both assert the same thing.* I have already treated of the Giants and Titanians; and of the wars, which they carried on: and it has been shewn, that a little before those commotions

[67] Scholia in Apollon. l. 4. v. 261.

[68] Scholia. ibid.

the Arkite worship, and idolatry in general, began. When therefore it is said, that the Arcades were prior to the Moon, it means only, that they were constituted into a nation, before the worship of the Ark prevailed, and before the first war upon earth commenced. From hence we may perceive, that the Grecians have referred to the planet, what was merely symbolical, and related to another object. The Arcadians were a party from the dispersion; and forced their way into Hellas. Aristotle mentions the region, which they occupied; and says, that it was possessed by a people of a different family, whom the Arcades [70] drove out. And he adds, *that this happened,* [71] προ τυ επιτειλαι την Σεληνην, διο κατονομασθηναι Προσεληνας. *before Selene appeared, on which account they were called Proseleni.* It was not however from their settling in Greece, but from their worship, which was far prior, that they had this title. Indeed they could go still higher: for, as they were both Arcades and Selenitæ, they

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[70] Βαρβαροι την Αρκαδιαν φκησαν, διτιπες εξεβληθησαν απο των Αρκαδων επιθεμενων αυτοις. Scholia. ibidem.

[71] Ibid. Αρκαδες των Ἑλληνων αρχαιοτατοι.—Οι Αρκαδες δοκυσι προ της Σελήνης γεγονεναι. Δυρις δε—Αρκαδα φησιν Ορχομενυ υιον —Αρκας ὁ Ελατου. ενιοι δε υπο τυ Τυφωνος· υπο δε Ατλαντος, Ξεναγορας ειρηκεν. Ibid.

Ιστρος δε φησι, Θεμιστυς και Διος Αρκας. Steph. Byz. See Pausan. l. 8. p. 604.

could carry up their history to Arcas himself, and to times antecedent both to the Ark and Deluge. This might be another reason, why they were called not only Minyæ, Selenitæ, and [72] Arcades, but also Προσεληνοι, Proseleni; as being of a family prior both to the Ark, and Deluge. But the later Grecians mistook this history, and referred it to a different object: hence they have supposed the Arcadians to have been older than the moon.

Similar to the character given of Arcas, is that of Pelasgus; but accompanied with many additional and remarkable circumstances. He was equally a benefactor to mankind; and instructed them in many [73] arts. He taught them to cloath themselves; and to build houses, that they might be sheltered from the inclemency of the weather. He likewise improved them in their diet; and shewed them what was noxious and deadly. He is said to have built the first temple to the Deity: [74] ædem Jovi Olympio primum fecit Pelasgus. I have taken notice, that, as Noah was said to have been ανθρωπος γης, *a man of the earth*, this characteristic is observable in every history of these primitive persons: and they are represented as νομιοι αγριοι, and

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[72] Scaliger gives a different solution. See Prolegom. ad Emend. Temp. p. 3. See also Censorinus de Die Natal. c. 19. p. 103.

[73] Pausan. l. 8. p. 599.

[74] Hygini Fab. 225. p. 346.

γηγενεις. Pelasgus accordingly had this [75] title: and it is particularly mentioned of him, that he was the first husbandman. [76] Ὁ δε Πελασγος πρωτος αγρω κατασκευην εξευρε: *Pelasgus first found out all, that is necessary for the cultivation of the ground.* There is a curious sketch of his history given by the poet Asius; which is comprised in two verses, but points out very plainly, who was meant by Pelasgus. It represents him as a person of a noble character, who was wonderfully preserved for the good of mankind.

[77] Αντιθεον δε Πελασγον εν ὑψικομοισιν ορεσσι
Γαια μελαιν' ανεδωκεν, ἱνα θνητων γενος ειη.

I have shewn, that Γαια, Gaia, in its original sense, signified a sacred cavern; a hollow in the earth; which from its gloom was looked upon as an emblem of the Ark. Hence Gaia, like Hesta, Rhoia, Cybele, is often represented as the [78] mother of mankind. It is here to be taken in that sense: and

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[75] Τω γηγενες γαρ ειμι εγω παλαιχθονιος.
Ἰνις Πελασγω. Æsch. Suppl. v. 258.
Some read it Πελασγος.

[76] Schol. in Euripid. Orest. v. 930.

[77] Pausan. l. 8. p. 599.

[78] Γαια Θεα, μητερ Μακαρων, θνητων τ' ανθρωπων. Orph. Hymn. 26.

the passage will be found remarkable, though concise.

On a high mountain's brow
The gloomy cave gave back again to light
Godlike Pelasgus, that the race of man
Through him might be renewed.

In like manner Inachus is said after the deluge to have been saved upon the top of a high mountain. Inachus, Pelasgus, and Danaus, are titles of the same person; though diversified by the Greeks, and made princes in succession. The Scholiast upon Euripides mentions, that [79] *Inachus, the man of the earth, was the first king of Argos; Pelasgus was the second; and Danaus, the son of Belus, the third.* The same writer adds, [80] Μετα τον κατακλυσμον εν ορεσιν οικουντων των Αργειων, πρωτος αυτους συνωκισεν Ιναχος. *When the Argivi, or Arkites, after the Deluge lived dispersed upon the mountains, Inachus first brought them together, and formed them into communities.*

Concerning the language of the Pelasgi, there have been many elaborate disquisitions; and we find, that it was matter of debate, even in the time

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[79] Ιναχος αυτοχθων, πρωτος βασιλευς Αργους· δευτερος Πελασγος· τριτος Δαναος ὁ Βηλου. Scholia in Euripidis Orest. v. 930. See Herod. l. 7. c. 94.

[80] Ibid.

of [31] Herodotus. Yet the question, if rightly stated, amounts only to this: What was the language of this variously denominated people, before it had undergone those changes, which necessarily ensue from time? In other words, how did the Hellenes discourse some ten, or twelve centuries before the birth of Æschylus or Pindar? As we have no written records, nor any monumental evidences of that date, or near it; the question may at first seem not very easy to be decided. Yet from the names of places, and of men; and from the terms used in their rites and worship; but more especially from the history of the people themselves, and of the country from whence they came; we may be assured that it was the Cuthic of Chaldea. This in a long series of years underwent the same changes, as all languages undergo. And this alteration arose partly from words imported; and partly from a mixture with those nations, among whom the Hellenes were [32] incorporated. Exclusive of these circumstances, there is no language but will of itself

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[31] L. 1. c. 57.

[32] Of old there were many nations and languages in Greece. Strabo. l. 7. p. 494. 495. Scymnus Chius speaks of the barbarous people, who lived near Dodona:

Εισι μιγαδες Βαρβαροι,
Οις και περιοικειν φασι τω χειμαρριω.
Apud Geogr. Vet. vol. 2. p. 26.

See also Herodot. l. 1. c. 146

insensibly vary: though this variation may be in some degree retarded, where there is some standard, by which common speech may be determined and controuled. But the Grecians had no such assistance. Letters undoubtedly came to them late; and learning much later. There was no historian prior to Cadmus Milesius; nor any public inscription, of which we can be certified, before the laws of Draco. The first Grecian, who attempted to write in prose, was Pherecydes the philosopher: and he lived as late as the reign of Cyrus the Persian. Hence there is no change in their language, but such as we might expect from an interval of this extent, and from a people thus circumstanced.

Such is the history of the Hellenes and Iönim in their various branches. Of those, who settled in Hellas, I have spoken before; and shewn, that they were no other than the Shepherds of Egypt, who came originally from Chaldea. They were expelled by the Egyptians a very few years before the Israelites got access to that country: and when they came into Greece, they went under different denominations; being styled Pelasgi, Leleges, Inachidæ, Danaïdæ, Heraclidæ, and [83] Cadmians.

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[83] They were also called Cuthi: but from a general title the later Greeks always formed a personage, who was supposed to have been the leader of the colony. Hence instead of the Cuthites, and Herculeans, Plutarch substitutes a Cothus and

Of their expulsion there is an account given in a curious fragment from Diodorus Siculus, preserved by Photius: in which also notice is taken of the Israelites, who migrated from the same country. It is what I have before [84] quoted; but I esteem it of such consequence, that I must beg leave to introduce it again. [85] *Upon this, as some writers tell us, the most eminent and enterprising of those foreigners, who were in Egypt, and obliged to leave the country, betook themselves to the coast of Greece, and also to other regions; having put themselves under the command of proper leaders for that purpose. Some of them were conducted by Danaus, and Cadmus; who were the most illustrious of the whole. There were besides these a large, but less noble body of people, who retired into the province, called now Judea, which was not far from Egypt, and in those times uninhabited. These emigrants were led by Moses, who was superior to all in wisdom and prowess.—He gave them laws; and ordained that they should have no images*

Arcbus; and says that they settled in Eubœa. Κοθος και Αρκλος, οι Ξυθου παιδες εις Ευβοιαν ηκον οικησαιτες. *Cothus and Arcbus, the two sons of Xuth, came and settled in Eubœa.* Plutarch. Quæstiones Græcæ. p. 256. These were the same as those Arabians, who are said to have come with Cadmus. Αραβες, οι Καδμῳ συνδιαβαντες. Strabo. l. 10. p. 685.

[84] Vol. II. near the end.

[85] Ex Diodori. l. 40. apud Photium. p. 1152.

of the Gods; because there was only one Deity, the Heaven, which surrounds all things, and is Lord of the whole. I make no comment upon this curious extract: let it suffice, that this latter migration was an age or two after the former; though mentioned here, as if it were of the same date. Those, who came into Greece, brought with them the same arts, and the same worship, which they had before introduced in Egypt. Hence Zonaras very truly tells us, [86] Εκ Χαλδαιων γαρ λεγεται φοιτησαι ταυτα προς Αιγυπτον, κ'ακειθεν προς Ελληνας. *All these things came from Chaldea to Egypt; and from thence were derived to the Greeks.*

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[86] Vol. 1. p. 22. See Syncellus. p. 102.

ΣΠΑΡΤΟΙ.

OF THE

SPARTI OF GREECE AND COLCHIS,

AND OF

THE HEBREW SPARTONES.

IT is remarkable, that the Cadmians, and people of other colonies, who came into Greece, were called Σπαρτοι, Sparti. The natives of Bœotia had this appellation; as had those of Lacedæmon, which city was peculiarly named Sparta. There were traditions of this sort in Attica, and also at Colchis; and a notion prevailed, that the people in those parts took their rise from something which was sown. Hence the twofold personage Cecrops is said to have originally sprung from the teeth of a [1] serpent scattered in the ground. Alexander Polyhistor, speaking of the children of Israel, and Edom, says, that they were originally the sons of Semiramis: but Claudius Iölaus derives them

[1] Κεκροπα Διφυη—εκ των του δρακοντος οδοντων εξελθειν. Scholia in Lycoph. v. 111.

from one Sparton, who came from Thebes with Dionusus. This Sparton, by the Greeks, is mentioned, as the son of [2] Phoroneus, the first man who reigned. The terms Sparti, and Sparton, were both foreign to Greece; and manifestly imported. Hence the name of Sparta in Laconia was conferred, [3] απο των μετα Καδμε Σπαρτων, *by the Sparti, who came into that country with Cadmus.* A similar history of this place is given by Timagoras: who informs us, [4] that it received its name from people, who had wandered from their own country, and happened to light upon this, which from themselves they named Sparte. They are by some re-

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[2] Pausan. l. 2. p. 146.

Phoroneus, qui primus mortalium dicitur regnâsse. Hyginus. Fab. 143.

Sparta condita a Sparto filio Phoronei. Euseb. Versio Lat. p. 13.

[3] Scholia in Hom. Odyss. A. απο των μυθευομενων μετα Καδμε Σπαρτων ανδρων. See Suidas, Epaminondas.

[4] Περι ων (Σπαρτων) Τιμαγορας φησιν, εκπεσοντας δε αυτους εις την Λακωνικην, Σπαρτων αφ' εαυτων ονομασαι. Steph. Byzant. Σπαρτη. Salmasius would alter εκπεσειν to εισπεσειν. He says, that he would do it, though every manuscript were against him. But this would certainly ruin the purport of the historian; who means, that the Sparti had been deprived of one country, and lighted upon another. We have no term precisely analogous as a metaphor to the word used: however εκπεσειν εις certainly means to miss of one thing, and to light upon another.

presented as the offspring of Ogyges, the same as Inachus, and Deucalion.

I think, it is plain, that the people here mentioned were of the family of the dispersed, who were scattered over the face of the earth. They were denominated Sparti from an antient word analogous to פרד, Parad, of the Hebrews, and to [5] σπαραττω of the later Greeks; by which was signified, to part, sever, and disperse. Their separation and flight from Babel was continually commemorated under the notion of the flight of Bacchus, and Osiris, and the scattering abroad their limbs. What seems to confirm my notion, is a passage from Androtion, quoted by the Scholiast upon Lycophron; who speaks of the Sparti as σποραδες, or people, who had been scattered abroad. [6] Ανδροτιων δε ὁ ἱστορικος μετα σποραδων τινων φησι τον Καδμον εις Θεβας ελθειν. By Sporades this writer does not mean people sown: for he speaks of them as prior to the æra of that fable: but the purport of his words is, that *Cadmus came to Thebes in Bœotia with some people of the dispersion.* Those too, who gave name to Sparta, are by another writer said to have

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[5] Hence partior, dispertior, partitio.

[6] Schol. in v. 1206. This is given more at large by Pindar's Scholiast: Ανδροτιων δε φησι φυγοντα εκ της Φοινικης τον Καδμον μετα ἱκανων σποραδων κατελθειν εις Θηβας. κ. τ. λ. Esth. Od. 7. p. 417. v. 18.

been a dispersed and a wandering crew. [7] Τας πρωτας συνοικησαντας την πολιν Λελεγας, ΔΙΕΣΠΑΡΜΕΝΟΥΣ εις ταυτην συνελθειν. *The first who inhabited the city were the Leleges, a people who came after a dispersion.* In their history we have continual allusions to the flood; and to their being dissipated afterwards. Hence Lycophron styles them natives of Thebes [8] Ωγυγου Σπαρτος λεως; the original purport of which is merely this, that they were the descendents of those people, who were dispersed after the Deluge. And Æschylus describes them in much the same light.

[9] Σπαρτων δ' απ' ανδρων, ων Αρης εφεισατο.

They were the posterity of those people, whom the chance of war had spared; but who were afterwards scattered abroad. They were the same as the Titanians: hence the Cecropians, who came into Attica, were styled [10] Γηγενεις; and their country [11] Titanis.

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[7] Eustathius in Hom. Iliad. B.

[8] V. 1206. Og, Ogus, and Ogugus, signify the sea, or ocean. From ogua came aqua, water.

[9] Septem thebana. v. 418.

[10] Lycophron calls the Athenians Γηγενεις. Γηγενεις λεγει τους Αθηναιους. See v. 111. ad Scholia. This was a title of the Titans.

[11] Τιτανιδα γην. Etymolog. Mag.

I have taken notice, that the great object of the Cuthites in erecting the Tower of Babel was that they might not be dispersed. [12] *Let us build us a city, and a tower,—lest we be scattered abroad.* They were however wonderfully dissipated: and this circumstance of their dispersion is to be found commemorated in all their histories. Hence, as I have before observed, we read of Perseus, Cadmus, and other leaders of colonies, styled Αληται, Aletæ, or wanderers. At Athens they had a festival called [13] Aletis: and there was a sacred [14] hymn of the same name; the subject of which was undoubtedly the wanderings of their ancestors; those ancestors, [15] οι και Αληται και Τιτανες καλουνται: *who were distinguished by the name of the Wanderers, and of the Titans.* Pindar calls the Corinthians the children of the [16] Aletes. Upon which the Scholiast observes, that Aletes was the person, who led the colony, which settled in that city. But Aletes was not a proper name: and the history merely alludes to one of those Aletæ, or people of the dispersion, who came into the Peloponnesus, and founded Corinth. By the Gentile accounts given of this people,

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[12] Genesis. c. 11. v. 4.

[13] Αλητις εορτη Αθηνησιν, ἡ νυν Αιωρα λεγομενη. Hesych.

[14] Αλητις, ασμα ταις ὡραις προσαδομενον. Jul. Pollux.

[15] Sanchoniath. apud Euseb. P. E. l. 1. c. 10. p. 35.

[16] Ὑμμιν δι, παιδες Αλατα. Olymp. Od. 13. v. 17.
Αλητης γαρ ἡγησατο της αποικιας. Scholia ibid.

who were their ancestors, it appears, that they were not only exiled, and dispersed; but doomed to wander for ages, before they could get a place of rest. This is the history given of the Leleges, and Pelasgi, and other wandering tribes. The same may be inferred concerning those of the family who settled in Thrace. Orpheus (by which character we are to understand the Orphites of that country) is introduced in the Argonautica, as giving Jason an account of his peregrinations.

[17] Ηδη γαρ μοι αλις καματων, αλις επλετο μοχθεων,
Ων ικομην επι γαιαν απαιρετον, ηδε πολιας·
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Και με αλητειης τε και εξ οιστρε εσαωσε
Μητηρ ημετερη, και μ' ες δομον ηγαγεν αλλον.

I have for a long time, says he, *had enough of labour, and disquietude: for I have wandered over a vast tract of country, and over various cities. But my Goddess Mother put a stop to my roving; and healed me of that fatal* [18] *impulse, by which I was before driven; and at last gave me a settlement, in lieu of that, which I lost.* This is the purport of the words, which cannot be explained but by a paraphrase. Something similar is to be observed in

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[17] Orphæi Argonaut. v. 98.

[18] Οιστρος· τριθισμος—μανια, εκκαυσις, λυσσα, φοβος. Hesych.

the history of Saturn, and the description of his flight into Italy. By this flight was signified the dispersion of a people, called Saturnians; who, after many wanderings, settled in that country, and introduced there the rites of this God. They were of the family of the Aletæ, and Spartani: whence it is said of Saturn, that in his flight from Crete, he was concealed in Italy by a people of this denomination. [19] Saturnus, ex Cretâ fugiens, in Italiâ a Spartanis absconditur. We have been told above, that the Titans, or Giants, were Aletæ: and Athenagoras goes so far as to suppose, that even after their death they had no rest. [20] των Γιγαντων ψυχαι, οι περι τον κοσμον εισι πλανωμενοι Δαιμονες. He is speaking of the souls of the Giants; which Giants he supposes to be *wandering Dæmons, that are ever roving about the world.*

Such is the history of the Sparti, who were undoubtedly of Titanian race, of that family, which was dispersed. They were supposed to be Heliadæ; or offspring of the Sun: and at the same time Ophitæ, worshipping that Deity under the figure of a serpent. Hence there was given to the Spartan Menelaus a serpent for a device upon his [21] shield: the same also was depicted upon the

[19] Julius Firmicus. p. 27.

[20] P. 303.

[21] Pausan. l. 10. p. 863.

shield, and cuirass of [22] Agamemnon. There was also a serpent engraved upon the tomb of [23] Epaminondas, and inclosed in the figure of a shield: all which, says Pausanias, was done, *that he might be known to have been a Spartan* (Σπαρτος) *by descent.* They worshipped the Sun, their supposed progenitor, whom they called Zan: and his images were styled Zanes; and were peculiar to [24] Sparta. He was of old called San, and Shan; hence we meet with many places dedicated to him under this title. One of these was Beth-San; where stood the temple, to which the Philistines fastened the body of [25] Saul, after he had been slain upon Mount [26] Gil-

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[22] Homer. Iliad. A. v. 26. a serpent also upon his shield. v. 39. Κυανεος ελελικτο δρακων.

[23] Ο μεν δε Δρακων εθελει σημαινειν γενος των Σπαρτων καλουμενων ειναι Επαμινωνδαν. Pausan. l. 8. p. 622.

[24] Pausan. l. 5. p. 430. Καλουνται δε ὑπο των επιχωριων Ζανες.

[25] בית-שן. 1 Samuel. c. 31. v. 10. Joshua. c. 17. v. 11. Judges. c. 1. v. 27.

[26] I am sorry, that I did not recollect a mistake in my first volume, p. 44. time enough to have it corrected in my last edition. I there mention Beth-San in the land of the Philistines, &c. &c. But the Beth-San of the Scriptures was a celebrated place in the tribe of Manasses, upon the borders of Galilee. It was within a very few miles of Endor, and still nearer to Gilboa, where Saul was slain. We may therefore be assured, that here was the temple, to which the Philistines affixed his body. See Eugesippus de Distant. Locorum Terræ Sanctæ.

boa. The Greeks expressed it Βεθ-σαν, and [27] Βηθ-ϕαν. It was built in early times by the Cuthite Ophitæ, or Hivites; who were very numerous in the upper regions of Canaan. Of this city, I shall take farther notice. From the data above afforded, we may decypher the fable about the serpent's teeth, from which the Sparti were supposed to have been derived: and we may shew the grounds, from whence the mistake took its rise. I have mentioned, that they were Heliadæ, the supposed offspring of the Sun, and Shan. But [28] Shan, שן, signified also a tooth. Hence the Grecians, instead of saying, that the Sparti had their origin from the Serpent Deity the Sun, made them take their rise from the teeth of a serpent. And as they were Sporades, by which term is meant any thing, that is either scattered abroad, or sowed in the ground; they took it in the latter sense: and supposed, that these teeth had been sowed in the earth, and produced an army of men [29].

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[27] Βηθσαν, ἡ νυν Σκυθοπολις. Joseph. Ant. l. 6. c. 14. Βεθσανην, την καλουμενην ὑφ' Ἑλληνων Σκυθοπολιν. Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 6.

[28] שן. Dens. Taylor's Hebrew Concordance. 1978.

[29] The learned Bochart gives a different solution.

OF THE SPARTO-HEBRÆI.

MANY things, which seem inexplicable, may, with a little attention be made out, if we proceed with a proper clew: and many traditions, which we esteem as fables, will appear to have been founded in truth. The mythology of the antients may be looked upon as so much symbolical writing: and we must interpret it in the same manner as one would decypher a collection of hieroglyphics. What can at first sight appear more strange, than the account given of Judea by Alexander Polyhistor; or that, which is subjoined from Claudius Iölaus? yet they will be both found in great measure consonant to truth. [30] Ιουδαια· Αλεξανδρος ὁ Πολυιστωρ απο παιδων Σεμιραμιδος, Ιουδα και Ιδουμαια· ὡς δε Κλαυδιος Ιολαος απο Ιουδαια Σπαρτωνος, εκ Θηβης μετα Διονυσου στρατευοντος. *The country of Judea, according to Alexander Polyhistor, was so named from Iuda and Idumea, two sons of Semiramis. But according to Claudius Iolaus, it received its name from Judæus Sparton; who was one of those, who went from Thebes upon an expedition with Dionusus.* We find in the first part, that the children of Edom and Judah are represented as the sons of Semiramis. This at first

[30] Stephanus Byzant.

may appear foreign to the truth; yet, upon my principles, this is very consonant to the history of those nations. For their forefathers were natives of Chaldea and Babylonia: and Abraham came from thence to Canaan. Hence they might easily by the eastern nations be looked upon as of the race of the Semarim, or [31] Babylonians. In consequence of which their posterity are by this writer styled the sons of Semiramis. According to Claudius Iölaus they were descended from Judæus Sparton. By this is meant, that they were of the family styled Sparti; from among the people, who were dispersed. This naturally follows from their being esteemed of the line of the Semarim: and we have reason to think, that there is great truth in this history. For though Terah and Abraham, who resided in Chaldea, were not of that number: yet we may infer, that many of the sons of Heber were. For they must have been pretty numerous at this time; and seem to have been all idolaters; and to have resided upon forbidden ground in the vicinity of Babel. It is added, that *Judæus Sparton went with Dionusus from Thebes, and attended him in his warlike expeditions.* It is to be observed, that those nations, who preserved any traditions of their [32] forefathers

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[32] Some of the Fathers go so far as to make them of Chaldean race.

[33] Dionusus was the Patriarch, the head of all. By Bacchus is sometimes meant Zeus Pachus, styled Πηχος by the Ionian wri-

having been preserved in the Deluge, came in process of time to think, that the history related only to their family: at least they confined it to those, who had the best memorials of this event. Among these were the people of Judea, who were esteemed a branch of the Semarim. Hence it is mentioned as peculiarly characteristic, that Sparton, by whom is meant the head of the family, which was dispersed, came with Dionusus, εκ Θηβης; by which is meant, not from Thebes, but *out of the Ark:* and it is added, that he attended him in his wars. These are two histories; and should be accordingly distinguished. The Grecians continually confounded Dionusus and Bacchus, and often speak of them as one person. But they were two distinct characters: and the first of these histories belongs to the one, and the latter to the other. The coming out (εκ Θηβης) *from the Ark* relates to Dionusus: the warlike expedition to Bacchus, and to his sons the Cuthites. If this allowance be made; and it be permitted me to take off the false gloss, which the Grecian writers have put upon this history; I will venture to paraphrase it in the following manner, and by these means reduce it to its primitive state.

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ters, who was Chus. At other times, the title relates to Nimrod; who, as Bochart very truly supposes, was named Bar-Chus, the son of the former. The names of two personages, from similitude, have been blended into one.

Judea, says Alexander Polyhistor, was so denominated from one Judah; who, together with Edom, was looked upon as of the antient stock of the Semarim in Chaldea: for their ancestors came from that country. But according to Iölaus the region had its name from Judæus, styled Sparton: so named, because his ancestors were among those of the dispersion in Babylonia. They were of the family of those who came (εκ Θηβης) *out of the Ark with Dionusus; and who were confederate with the sons of Chus in some of their first enterprises.*

In respect to the Hebrews, and Israelites, whom Iölaus deduces from Judæus Sparton, they were, according to the Scriptural account, the sons of Heber; and are mentioned as such by many of the [33] Fathers. This name is by interpretation [34] περατης; by which is meant *one, who passes over.* The names of the Patriarchs were most of them prophetically given: and had a reference to some future contingency. Thus one of the sons of Noah was styled Ham, or Cham; which was prognostic both of the worship, and the complexion of his posterity. Peleg signified division: and the earth was in his time divided. Sarah was called Ischa, or

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[33] Εβερος, αφ' ου τους Ιουδαιους Εβραιους αρχηθεν εκαλουν. Josephus. Ant. l. 1. c. 6. p. 25.

[34] Απο του Εβερ—συμαινει δε τουτο τον διαπερωντα. Euseb. P. E. l. 9. p. 520. Περατικοι γαρ τινες ερμηνευονται. Ibid. p. 309.

Ischac, which denoted laughter: and the purport of the name was manifested by an involuntary fit of laughter upon a solemn [35] occasion. Her son in consequence of it was named Ischac. Thus Heber had a name given him, which signified περατης, and was equally prophetic. Many have supposed, that it related to Abraham, who passed over the Euphrates in his way to Canaan. Abraham was the sixth in descent from Heber, on which account the

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[35] The wife of Abraham was called Sarai; which was changed to Sarah. Sarai signifies a Lady, or Princess; and was only a Chaldaïc title. The true name given at her birth was Ischa, or Ischac; prophetically bestowed, and denoting laughter. This seems to be not properly expressed, being written יסכה; whereas the name of Ischac, or Isaac, denominated from her, is spelt יצחק; from שחק, ridere. Probably Sarah's name is rendered according to the antient Chaldaïc pronunciation, when the name was first given. Isaac's is exhibited, as it was pronounced afterwards, in the time of Moses. They are certainly the same words in different dialects, and equally relate to the history above given. The name Ischa was prophetic; and the purport of it was fulfilled not only in Sarah's laughing, but in Abraham's. For *Abraham fell upon his face, and laughed.* Genes. c. 17. v. 17. The child in memorial of this event was named Ischac; or, as more commonly expressed, Isaac, *laughter.* By this was further prefigured a token of joy and gladness. The child was to be an omen of happiness to the world. Therefore God directs Abraham to name him Isaac, and subjoins the reason; *Thou shalt call his name Isaac; and I will establish my covenant with him for an everlasting covenant.* Genes. c. 17. v. 19. In Isaac were all the nations upon earth to be blessed.

sons of Heber must have been very numerous in his time. They may have amounted to some hundreds, and perhaps thousands. It seems therefore strange, that a general name should be imposed upon a large body of people, because in aftertimes one of the family passed a river. I have shewn, that most of the prophetic names were given to denote some extraordinary occurrence; such as could not well be expected in the common course of things. The passing of a river could not be esteemed of this nature: especially when the person spoken of lived in an interamnian country; and in a part of it, which was close bounded by two streams, the Tigris and the Euphrates. Many deduce the name, not from Heber, but from Abraham; still supposing, that it was given from his passing of a river. In consequence of which Abraham is made the head of the whole Hebrew family. Hence Artapanus tells us, [36] καλεισθαι αυτες Εβραιες απο Αβρααμ· *that the Hebrews had their name from Abraham.* And Charax to the same purpose: [37] Εβραιοι, ἀντως Ιυδαιοι απο Αβραμωνος. This seems to have been the opinion of many [38] ecclesiastical, as well as other writers; who

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[36] Euseb. P. E. l. 9. p. 420.

[37] Apud Steph. Byzant.

[38] Εβραιοι γαρ οἱ περαται ἑρμηνευονται, διαπερασαντος Ευφρατην Αβρααμ· και ἐκ, ὡς φασιν τινες, απο Εβερ. Ex Eusebianis. See Selden de Diis Syris. Prolegom. c. 2. p. 4.

deduce the name from Abraham, and not from Heber. Thus we are told by Hesychius, Αβραμ, περάτης· *By Abraham is signified one, who passes over.* From hence we find, that they imagined the name of Abraham to have been a compound of Aber, *to pass over:* than which notion there can be nothing more idle. It is notorious, that Abraham is called the [39] Hebrew; which would be unnecessary, and redundant, if his original name had that signification. He is not styled Heber, but like his posterity, an Hebrew. This shews, that he did not give, but receive the name. It was a patronymic; a name, by which his fathers had before him been distinguished. The authors of the Greek version are therefore guilty of a mistake in translating it [40] περατης, instead of Ἑβραιος. For they introduce it as referring to an uncertain piece of history, about the passage of a river; when it is in reality an hereditary title, a Gentile mark of distinction. As to those, who have imagined that the name of Abraham is a compound of Aber, *to pass;* their notion is founded upon a notorious mistake in etymology. The Patriarch had two names, which were both given prophetically, and were of high consequence;

Αβραμ περατης. Hesych. In another place he comes nearer to the truth; when he says, Ἑβραιος, και ὁ Ἑβραιος, περατης.

[39] Genesis. c. 14. v. 13.

[40] Ibid.

relating to great events, which in the fulness of time were to be accomplished. He was called both Abram and Abraham; which names are said to signify [41] Pater illustris, and Pater multitudinis. They were both given before he had a child, and when there was little prospect of his having such a progeny.

Abraham therefore could not have been the head of the Hebrew family. The person alluded to under the name of Περατης was Heber: he was certainly the father of the Hebrews; and they are spoken of as his posterity by [42] Moses. Syncellus also makes him very truly the head of that [43] line. The name of Heber, like the names of most of the Patriarchs, was prophetically given; and it did not relate to the passing of a river, but to a [44] trespass in his posterity. They passed over from the stock of their fathers; and dwelt upon forbidden ground, among the sons of Ham, and Chus, in Shinar, and Chaldea, where they served other Gods. I make no doubt, but that the true meaning of the name

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[41] Αβραμ—πατηρα μετεωρον. Euseb. P. E. l. 11. p. 518. Ab-Ram, Pater magnus. See Genesis. c. 17. v. 5. concerning the name Abraham.

[42] Numbers. c. 24. v. 24. They are shewn to be lineally descended from Heber. Genesis. c. 10. v. 25.

[43] P. 87. Eusebius also says, Εβραιοι απο του Εβερ· προπατωρ δε του Αβρααμ ουτος ην. Præp. Evang. l. 9. p. 304.

[44] עבר, to transgress.

Heber was not so much περατης, as παραβατης; and related to this apostasy of his family. They were the descendents of Shem; but resided among the enemies to the truth, to whom they had gone over. From this land Abraham was called; and brought with him his father Terah, and others of his family, who resided afterwards at Haran. Hence there was a great deal of truth in the words of Achior the Ammonite, when he gave an account of the Hebrews to the Assyrian general Holophernes. [45] *This people are descended of the Chaldeans; and they sojourned heretofore in Mesopotamia, because they would not follow the Gods of their fathers, which were in the land of Chaldea.* This in great measure agrees with that which is said by Joshua, when he addresses the children of Israel, and puts them in mind of their idolatrous original. [46] *Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time, even Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nahor; and they served other Gods.* These Gods they quitted, and came to Haran, as Achior truly witnessed. As they had resided so long in a foreign land, the sacred writer seems to have been apprehensive, that their true line might one day be mistaken; and that they might be adjudged to a wrong family. Hence he strongly inculcates, that Shem

[45] Judith. c. 5. v. 6. 7.

[46] Joshua, c. 24. v. 2.

was *the* [47] *father of all the children of Heber.* And this caution was not unnecessary; as we may perceive from their being styled the sons of the Semarim, and of the Chaldeans. And this is to be found, not only among Pagan authors, but even among the ecclesiastical writers, by whom Abraham is represented, [48] το γενος Χαλδαιος, *a Chaldean, not merely by nation, but by race.*

We read in the Mosaic history, that [49] *unto Heber were born two sons: the name of one was Peleg; for in his days was the earth divided: and his brother's name was Joctan.* The sacred writer then proceeds to give an account of the children of Joctan, who were very numerous; and also of the region, to which they migrated. [50] *And their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mountain of the east.* But of Peleg no such history is given: no mention is made, where his posterity resided; nor are his sons enumerated. We have only a line of single persons in descent from him to Abraham. Peleg, we have been told, was so named, because in his time there was a division of the earth: and there seems also to have been a division of the church of God. If then we

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[47] Genesis. c. 10. v. 21.

[48] Eusebius. Chron. p. 20. See also Syncellus.

[49] Genesis. c. 10. v. 25.

[50] Ibid. c. 10. v. 30.

compare all that has been said upon this subject, we may infer, that the sons of Peleg, the Hebrews of his line, were apostates; and dwelt with the sons of Chus in Babylonia and Chaldea; while the sons of Joctan went to their proper place of settlement. As, the former must have increased in number greatly at the time of the dispersion; we may suppose, that many of them were involved in that calamity. Hence came the notion of Claudius Iölaus, concerning the people of Judea; that they were the sons of Sparton, Σπάρτων. This should not be represented as a proper name: for by Σπαρτων is meant Σποραδων; and by the history we are to understand, that they were reputed of the family of those persons, who were of old dispersed abroad.

Bochart thinks, that they were not all the sons of Heber, who were Hebrews; but only those who preserved the Hebrew language [51] pure. [52] Itaque majorum Abrahæ hæc fuit prærogativa, quod Hebræum sermonem servaverunt incorruptum; cum reliqui omnes, etiam in Heberi familiâ, aut illum prorsus mutaverint, aut infecerint saltem cæterarum linguarum quasi contagione quâdam. This is prima facie very strange; to be told, that any of the sons of

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[51] Hebræos voco posteros Heberi non omnes; sed eos duntaxat, qui primitivæ linguæ, hoc est Hebraeæ, usum constanter retinuerunt. Geogr. Sacra. l. 2. c. 14. p. 92. 93.

[52] Ibid.

Heber were not Hebrews. Not a syllable to this purpose can be inferred from the Scripture: and the whole of what is advanced arises from prejudice. Bochart, and many others, have thought, that there must be something sacred in the Hebrew language; because it has pleased God to make it the means of conveyance, by which his oracles have been transmitted. From hence it has been supposed to be holy; and likewise the primitive, and original language of the world. There are many things, which Bochart has advanced, that are exceptionable. First of all, the position, before taken notice of, that all the sons of Heber were not Hebrews. The Scriptures expressly say, without any limitation, that the Hebrews were from Heber. They specify Peleg, Reu, Serugh, and all that were in a direct line from him to [53] Abraham. He says, in the second place, that only those were Hebrews, who retained the language pure. Here too the Scriptures are silent; not a syllable can be produced to this purpose: nay it is contrary to the tenor of the sacred writings. It supposes the people to be named from their language; whereas the language was denominated from the people. The ancestors of the Hebrews lived in Chaldea, and

[53] Genesis, c. 11. v. 17. See also Numbers, c. 24. v. 24. *Ships from the coast of Chittim shall—afflict Heber.*

served other Gods; even Terah, and Abraham, from whom they were so immediately descended. They were consequently far removed from the stock of their fathers. Heber, by his name, seems to have been the first transgressor: he seceded with a large part of his family: and when he passed over, there was but one language in the world. In the days of his son Peleg, the earth, as all agree, was of one language, and speech. The language therefore of Heber was common to all mankind, consequently there could be nothing particularly holy in it. To say the truth, for ages after, there was but one language in the world. This in process of time was disparted into dialects; and those were again subdivided. To ask, which was the primitive language of these, is to inquire which of the seven streams of the Nile, or Danube, is the original branch; when they are collateral, all equally deduced from one common source. There is this difference to be observed in the comparison: the parent stream remains; but the maternal source of languages is probably no more. The principal of Heber's posterity stayed in Chaldea after the migration of families, and the confusion at Babel. They therefore spake the language of the country, the Chaldaic. No, it will be said; they were excepted in the general confusion of tongues; and had their language preserved. I do not admit, that the confusion was general: but if it were, why should Te-

rah, and his ancestors, who were apostates, and idolaters, have this prerogative granted them? The Scriptures say not a word about it; and it would be idle to infer it. The sons of Heber therefore spake the antient Chaldaic: and the Hebrew was ever a dialect of that language.

MEROPES.

ANOTHER name given to those of the dispersion was Meropes. [1] Διεσκεδασε γαρ (ὁ Θεος) αυτων τας γλωσσας, και απο μιας εις ἑβδομηκοντα δυο διενειμε, κατα των τοτε ανδρων αριθμον ευρεθεντα· οθεν και Μεροπες ουτοι κεκληνται. The learned Father, from whom I quote, supposes, that the language of mankind at Babel was changed: and he accordingly tells us, *that the Deity separated their tongues; and from one language formed seventy and two: for this was the exact number of men, who at that time existed: and from this separation, they were called Meropes.* Many other [2] writers have imagined, that

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[1] Epiphanius advers. Hæres. l. 1. p. 6.

[2] By some they are said to have been seventy-five. Ευφορος δε, και αλλοι πολλοι των ἱστορικων, και εθνη και γλωσσας πεντε και ἑβδομηκοντα λεγουσιν εισαι, ιπακουσαντες της φωνης Μωσεως λεγουσης. Ησαν δε πασαι αι ψυχαι εξ Ιακωβ πεντε και ἑβδομηκοντα, αι εις Αιγυπτον κατελθουσαι. Clemens Alexand. Strom. l. 1. p. 404. By the author himself there are supposed to have been only seventy-two.

The author of the Clementine Homilies mentions only seventy nations, and seventy tongues. Hom. 18. c. 4. In the Recognitiones Clement. the earth is supposed to have been divided into seventy-two parts, for the reception of seventy-two families of mankind. l. 2. c. 42.

there was at Babel, an universal change of language; and that seventy-two new tongues arose, according to the number of mankind at that season. For this notion they have no [3] authority: and it is certainly contrary to the tenor of Scripture. We may however venture to agree with them, when they tell us, that the people styled Meropes were so named from the dispersion. The author of the Chronicon Paschale more truly confines the change, of which we are treating to sound and utterance. He says, that the Meropes were the people originally concerned in the constructing of the Tower in Babylonia: and that they were prevented in executing their purpose through default in speech: [4] δια την αιτιαν και Μεροπες παντες κεκληνται, δια την μεμερισμενην την φωνην: *On this account they had the name of Meropes, because their speech was divided.* Johannes Antiochenus speaks much to the same

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[3] There was however an antient tradition, which prevailed among the Egyptians, that the earth was originally divided into seventy-two portions. Εβδομηκοντα δυο χωρας τας αρχαιας φασι της οικουμενης ειναι. Horapollo. l. 1. c. 14. p. 28.

If there were but seventy-two persons in the days of Peleg, how could there be such considerable kingdoms formed in the days of Abraham? The Scripture mentions Elam, Canaan, Egypt, and several others; and there were undoubtedly many, of which we have no account.

[4] Chron. Pasch. p. 49.

[5] purpose: and all writers, who take notice of this name, and its origin, suppose that it related to the dispersion.

I have mentioned, that the apostasy in Babylonia commenced under Nimrod, and his associates, the sons of Chus. He was represented as a person of extraordinary stature, the head of the Γηγενεις, or earth-born brood: and he was styled by the Grecians Nebros, and [6] Nebrodes; and his people Νεβριδαι, Nebridæ. According to Berosus, he was the first who took upon him the title of a [7] Shepherd king. Many of this family came into Hellas, Mysia, and Ionia, as I have mentioned. They possessed some of the best islands in the Ægean Sea; particularly Lesbos, Lemnos, Samos, Chios, Cos. The name of this last island is often expressed Coüs. By this is meant Χως, the Grecian name of Chus, and relates to his family, who settled here: for this island was particularly occupied by the Cuthites, who preserved many memorials of their original. We are accordingly told by Stephanus, that it was the seat of the Meropes. Κως, πολις και νησος

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[5] Ουτω γινεται διαμερισμος, ητοι διασπορα των υιων Νως, και των εξ αυτων γενηθεντων· διοπες και Μεροπες εκληθησαν, απο τε της μεμερισμενης φωνης. κ. τ. λ. Joh. Malala. p. 13.

Μεροπες, ανθρωποι· δια το μεμερισμενην εχειν την οπα, ηγουν φωνην· η απο Μεροπος προ του Φαεθοντος Κων· λεγονται δε Κωοι Μεροπες. Hesych.

[6] See Vol. I. Radicals, Nimrod. p. 11.

[7] Eusebii Chron. p. 5.

ἡ Μεροπις εκαλειτο απο Μεροπος Γηγενες. Λεγεται δε Κωως δια δυο ω, και Κοως—λεγεται δε Κοος. Ουτω δε εχρηματιζον Ἱπποκρατης, και Ερασιστρατος, ιατροι· ην δε Ἱπποκρατης των καλεμενων Νεβριδων. *Cos is both a city, and an island.—It was formerly named Meropis from Merops, one of the earth-born giant brood. They sometimes express it with two omegas, and sometimes with one. It is also written Coüs. Both Hippocrates and*[8] *Erasistratus, the two famous physicians, were of this island, and denominated Coans. Hippocrates was of the family of the Nebridæ.* Eustathius expresses it Κωις, Coïs; and says, that the name Merope, and Meropeïs, was given to it [9]απο εθνες, η γενες, *from a people, or family,* who settled here. Aristides speaks of the people as [10] Meropidæ; and represents them as great in knowledge. The two principal occurrences preserved by the Cuthites were the Deluge, and Dispersion: and they styled themselves both Ogugians, and Meropians, from these circumstances.

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[8] It is not to my purpose: yet it may be worth while to take notice, that Erasistratus was not of Coos, but of the island Ceos.

All Mysia is thought to have been peopled by Cuthites, and especially by those, who were supposed to have been the descendents of Nimrod. Νεβρωδ ὁ κυνηγος και γιγας—εξ ου Μυσοι. Chron. Pasch. p. 28.

[9] Eustath. in Iliad. B. p. 318.

[10] Κω την Μεροπιδα γην, οικεμενην απο Μεροπιδων. Oratio in Asclepiad. tom. 1. p. 77. 79.

Hence Coüs is characterized by the same epithets: and Callimachus speaking of the wanderings of Latona mentions her coming to this island:

[11] Ωγυγιην δ' επειτα Κοων Μεροπηϊδα νησον
Ικετο.

The Meropidæ were the supposed descendents of Merope; and likewise of Merops. Who is denoted by the latter, may in some degree be known by the character given of him. We are told by Clemens of Alexandria, that this personage was by some looked upon as the author of [12] Dæmon worship; consequently one of the first, who introduced innovations in religion. Antoninus Liberalis gives a further account; and says, that the Meropidæ were the sons of [13] Eumelus (a Shepherd) whose father was Merops: and he adds, that their offspring were people of great pride, and addicted to violence; and that they got possession of the island Coüs. They were the same as the Heraclidæ, or Herculeans; though Pindar supposes them to have been

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[11] Callim. H. in Delon. v. 160.

Μιλητος τε, Κως τε, πολις Μεροπων ανθρωπων.

Homer. Hymn. ad Apoll. v. 42.

[12] Cohort. p. 38.

[13] Eumelus signifies a Shepherd. Ευμηλε γε Μεροπος εγενοντο παιδες υπερφιαλοι και ὑβριται—και ἐσχον Κων την Μεροπιδα νησον. Fab. 14.

conquered by Hercules, who subdued all the Meropians. But we must consider, that Hercules was the chief Deity of the first ages: and in the subduing of the Merópes we have an antient tradition transmitted, which the Coans had preserved. It related to their dispersion, and to the Giant monarch, who was by way of eminence styled Al-Cuon, or the great king.

[14] Πεφνεν δε συν κεινῳ Μεροπων
Τ' εθνεα, και τον Βεβοταν, υρεϊ ισον,
Φλεγραισιν ἐυρων, Αλκυονη.

We find, that the Deity *ruined the family of the Meropes, and destroyed the Giant Shepherd Al-Cuon at Phlegra; who was in size equal to a mountain.* The war of the Giants was recorded in many parts of the world; each of which was at length thought to have been the scene of action. It was uniformly called Phlegra; which is only a translation of the true name; for Phlegra signifies the land of fire, equivalent to Ur in Chaldea. Pindar takes notice of the same history in another place; where, if instead of Hercules we substitute divine vengeance, the purport of the tradition will be very plain.

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[14] Pind. Isth. Od. 6. v. 46. Βεβοτης is properly an herdsman: but in early time the office of a shepherd, and herdsman was the same.

[15] Πορθησε και Μεροπας (Θεος),
Και τον μεγαν πολεμιζαν
Εκπαγλον Αλκυονη.

The Deity ruined the Meropians, together with their great and warlike monarch, the stupendous Al-Cuon. The poet, as I have observed, supposes Hercules to have invaded them: but they were Heraclidæ, and looked upon Hercules as one of their progenitors. Wherefore, when Artaxerxes transmitted his orders to them, and required, that Hippocrates should be sent to him; their answer was, that they should never do any thing unworthy of those, who had gone before them, mentioning Æsculapius, Hercules, and [16] Merops. They seem, like the Cyclopians, to have been people of great ingenuity: and there is a statue of Apollo mentioned by Plutarch, which is said to have been, [17] εργον των καθ' Ηρακλεα Μεροπων, *the work of the Meropes, who lived in the time of Hercules.* They were the same as the Titanians: hence Euripides, speaking of a female of this family, styles her [18] Μεροπος Τιτανιδα κορην, *a Titanian damsel, a daughter of Merops.* They were also the same as the Macares, and Αθανατοι; those persons styled Deities and Immortals. On this account the island Coüs, one of the

[15] Pind. Nem. Od. 4. v. 42.

[16] See Spanheim's Notes upon Callimach. H. in Delon. v. 160.

[17] Plutarch. de Musicâ p. 1136.

[18] Euripi. Helena. v. 387.

chief seats of the Meropes, is by the poet Demoxenus said to have been the parent of Gods; [19] Θεὸς γὰρ φαινεθ' ἡ νησος φερειν.

Some seem to apply the term Merops to all mankind: and [20] Hesychius defines Meropes by ανθρωπι, as of universal signification. But it is plain from what has been said, that they were a particular race: and Pindar above made mention of [21] Μεροπων εθνεα; intimating, that there were several families, and nations of them. Among these were the Athenians, who must have been Meropians by being [22] Nebridæ; for these were titles, which related to the same family. They were also styled Erectheidæ, or the descendents of Erectheus: and Merope was supposed to have been his [23] daughter. Theopompus seems to have had an obscure tradition concerning a large body of this family settling far in the west, and occupying a region called Μεροπιδα γην. This is looked upon as an idle surmise by [24] Strabo: but there seems to be much truth in the tradition. By these Meropes are meant the Atlantians, who settled in Mauritania. They were of the Titanian race, and the supposed offspring of Atlas. His daughters were the celebrated Pelciadæ; one of whom was

[19] Athenæus. l. 1. p. 15.

[20] Μεροπες ανθρωποι. Hesych.

[21] Pindar supra.

[22] Liber—Nebridarum familiam pelliculâ cohonestavit hinnulæ. Arnobius. l. 5. p. 185.

[23] Plutarch in Theseo. p. 8.

[24] Strabo. l. 7. p. 458.

Merope, the reputed mother of the family, denominated here Meropians. The like history is given by Ælian, who mentions in this country, [25] Μερόπας τινας ἔτω; καλεμένας ἀνθρώπας; *a race of people called Meropians.* If we compare the account given by Ælian with that, which has been given above; and likewise collate it with those lines in Hesiod, where he describes the place of retreat, to which the Titans were consigned; we shall find the whole to relate to the Atlantians, and to the region in which they dwelt. They were the same as the Cuthite Erythreans; and the ocean upon which they lived, was called the Erythrean Sea. Hesiod, as I have shewn, described it as a vast pool, and an unfathomable abyss. Strabo has preserved a curious fragment from the Prometheus liberatus of Æschylus; wherein there are allusions to all these circumstances: and where the Atlantians are very truly described under the character of Ethiopians, who lived upon the Erythrean Sea:

[26] Φοινικοπεδον τ' Ερυθρας ἱερον
Χευμα θαλασσης,
[27] Χαλκοκεραυνον τε παρ' Ωκεανῳ
Λιμναν [28] παντοτροφων Αιθιοπων,

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[25] Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 3. c. 18. p. 251.

[26] Strabo. l. 1. p. 58.

[27] What Χαλκοκεραυνον means, I know not. It may possibly be a mistake for Χαλκοκρουνον.

[28] So it occurs in some MSS. for παντοτροφων. See Casaubon's learned notes upon this passage in Strabo.

Ἵν' ὁ πάντεποπτας ηελιος
Αιει χρωτ' αθανατον,
Καματον Ϝ' ἱππων θερμαις
Ὑδατος μαλακις προχοαις αναπαυει.

The learned Casaubon thinks, from a passage in Dionysius Halicarnassensis, that these verses are a part of a speech of Hercules, who is informing Prometheus concerning some future events. This is very probable; and they seem, I think, particularly to relate to the wanderings of the Titanians, and Meropes, who settled in Mauritania. The poet here mentions *The sacred waves of the Erythrean Sea: and the vast pool near the ocean, upon the borders of which the* [29] *wandering Ethiopians had taken up their residence: where the Sun, that all-seeing Deity, used to refresh his immortal body, and recruit his wearied horses, in the tepid streams of that salutary water.* The term *Erythrean Sea* has misled Strabo; who supposes that the people spoken of were to the south, above Egypt. But how can it be said, that the Sun rested from his labours in the south, and refreshed his horses, when he was in his meridian? The waters, in which the poets supposed him in the evening to set, were those in the west, in the midst of the great Atlantic. He was in like manner represented as rising from an

[29] Παντοτροφος may signify wise and artful.

Erythrean Sea in the east. Here lived the Indo-Cuthites, a people of the same family as the Meropes, and called Ethiopes, Mauri, and Erythræi. There is another fragment preserved in Strabo, which is from the Phaethon of Euripides, and relates to this people. The poet in this takes notice of the eastern Indic Ethiopians, and of the region, which they possessed.

[30] δοθηναι Μεροπι τησδ' Ανακτι γης·
Ην εκ τεθριππων ἁρματων πρωτην χθονα
Ἡλιος ανισχων χρυσεᾳ βαλλει φλογι.
Καλεσι δ' αυτην γειτονες μελαμβροτοι
[31] Ἑως φαεννης, Ἡλιῳ δ' ἱπποσασεις.

The poet is speaking of Clymene, who was the supposed mother of Phaethon, and of the Heliades, his sisters: and he tells us, that the Gods *bestowed Clymene upon Merops, a king of that country. This,* says he, *is the region, which the sun first enlightens with his golden rays in the morning, when he ascends his car, and sets out with his four horses. On this account it is called by all the black tribes in*

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[30] Strabo. ibid.

[31] In the original the line is Ἑω φαιναι. Strabo says, Νυν μεν δη κοινας ποιειται τας ἱπποσασεις τη τε Ηοι, και τῳ Ἡλιῳ. This is not true, according to the present reading. It should therefore be Ἑως φαεννης, or Ηως, that ἱπποσασεις may relate to both Ἑως, and Ἡλιῳ.

the vicinity, the place of repast, and stable, both of Aurora, and of the Sun. Thus we find, that whether we inquire in Mauritania, or at the Indus, the same names occur: and in almost all places, where the Cuthites settled, the titles of Æthiopes, Titanes, Mauri, Erythræi, and also of Meropes will be found. From hence we may learn the extent of the curse at the dispersion; and how widely the Meropes were driven. That they came into Greece has been shewn: all the Helladians, as well as the Ionians, were Meropians. Hence the term occurs continually in Homer. The Trojans also were of this family: and the poet speaking of the foundation of Troy, mentions it as a city of the Meropes.

[32] Δαρδανον αυ πρωτον τεκετο νεφεληγερετα Ζευς,
Κτισσε δε Δαρδανιην, επει πω Ιλιος ἱρη
Εν πεδιῳ πεπολιςο, πολις Μεροπων ανθρωπων,
Αλλ' εθ' ὑπωρειας ωκεον πολυπιδακος Ἰδης.

Offspring of Jove, great Dardanus arose,
And founded all Dardania. Troy's high tow'rs,
The sacred seat of the Meropian bands,
Grac'd not the plain. The scatter'd tribes as yet
Dwelt at the foot of Ida's shady hill,
Amid the gushing waters.

[32] Iliad. Υ. v. 215.

The Dardanians were Atlantians, being the reputed children of Electra. Their history is comprised in that of Dardanus, whom Virgil, in opposition to Homer, makes the founder of Ilium or Troy.

[33] Dardanus, Iliacæ primus pater urbis, et auctor,
Electrâ, ut Graii perhibent, Atlantide cretus,
Advehitur Teucros.

The common opinion is, that the city was built by Ilus, the son of Dardanus; who must consequently have been of the same family, a Merop-Atlantian. On this account the poet speaking above of Troy styles it πολις Μεροπων ανθρωπων, or *a city of the Dispersed.*

The Trojans, and [34] Mysians were of a different family from the native Phrygians; being of the same lineage, as the people of Hellas and Ionia. The Phrygians were the descendents of Japhet, and Javan; and possessed the whole country, except some districts upon the sea-coast. It is said indeed by Homer, that there had been a dynasty of seven kings at Troy; who are mentioned as respectable princes: and Virgil styles Priam, superbum regnatorem Asiæ. Yet the region of Troas was compa-

[33] Æneid. l. 8. v. 134.

[34] Νεβρωδ ὁ κεντηγος—ἐξ οὗ Μυσοι. Chron. Pasch. p. 28.

ratively [35] small; and the inhabitants few in number, in respect to the natives of Phrygia. The latter, as they were of a different race, so they had a language of their own distinct from that of Troas. They were likewise in subjection to a king, who is represented as monarch of the whole country. All this is to be obtained from the evidence of Homer himself; who mentions this prince, and his people, and speaks of their language, as different from that of the Trojans. This piece of history is to be found in the description of that interview, which Venus is supposed to have had with Anchises upon Mount Ida; and it is introduced in the Hymn to that Goddess. Upon entering the cave of Anchises, among other things Venus tells him, upon his accosting her as a Deity, that *she is no Goddess; and wonders, that he should take her for such a personage. The mother, says she, who bore me, was a woman; and I am a mere mortal. My father indeed is of note; and is no less than the monarch Otreus, of whom you cannot but have heard: for he rules over all Phrygia, which so abounds with well-walled towns.*

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[35] If any credit may be given to the Trojan history, as related by Homer, the very cities of Troas were not subject to Priam. Lyrnessus, like Troy, was situated at the foot of Mount Ida, at the distance of a very few miles from the latter city; yet was subject to its own king. Iliad. T. v. 295. Strabo. l. 13. p. 910. The same circumstance is to be observed in respect to Thebes, and other neighbouring cities.

I am acquainted with your language, as well as that of my own nation.

Ου τις τοι Θεος ειμι· τι μ' Αθανατησιν εϊσκεις;
Αλλα καταθνητη τε, γυνη δε με γεινατο μητηρ.
Ουρεϊος δ' εξι πατηρ ονομα κλυτος, ειπερ ακουεις,
Ος πασης Φρυγιης ευτειχητοιο ανασσει.
Γλωσσαν δ' ϋμετερην τε, και ημετερην σαφα οιδα.

Thus we find, that the language of the Trojans, and of the native Phrygians was different; for they were not of the same race. But the Grecians and the Trojans were of the same family, however they may be represented, as in a state of warfare: and they are introduced as speaking the same language. Priam's people could converse with their enemies: but their allies differed from them in speech, and indeed from one another. The Carians were a large and powerful nation: and Homer represents them particularly as barbarous in respect to language.

[77] Νασης αυ Καρων ηγησατο βαρβαροφωνων.

Polydamas therefore advises Hector to arrange the troops in their encampment according to their tribes:

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[76] Hymn to Venus v. 109.
[77] Iliad. B. v. 867.

and dialects; that there might be no confusion. As the Trojans were Meropes and Titanians, they were consequently Αθανατοι, or of the race of the Immortals. Their language accordingly is characterized by Homer as the language of the Gods. It was the Amonian, or Titanian tongue; and we often find it opposed to that of men, which was the language of Japhet and Javan. Homer makes a distinction of this nature, when he is speaking of Briareus.

[38] Ωχ' ἑκατογχειρον καλεσασ' ες μακρον Ολυμπον,
Ὁν Βριαρεων καλεουσι Θεοι, ανδρες δε τε παντες
Αιγαιωνα.

The like occurs, when he is speaking of the tomb of Myrinna the Amazon.

[39] Εστι δε τις προπαροιθε πολεως αιπεια Κολωνη,
Εν πεδιῳ απανευθε, περιδρομος ενθα και ενθα·
Την ητοι ανδρες Βατιειαν κικλησκουσιν,
Αθανατοι δε τε σημα πολυσκαρθμοιο Μυρινης.

There is a third instance, when he is speaking of the bird Chalcis.

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[38] Iliad. A. v. 402.
[39] Iliad. B. v. 811.

[40] Ενθ' ἡς' οζοισιν πεπυκασμενος ειλατινοισιν.
Ορνιθι λιγυρῃ εναλιγκιος ἡντ' εν ορεσσι
Χαλκιδα κικλησκουσι Θεοι, ανδρες δε Κυμινδιν.

A fourth, when he introduces the river Xanthus.

[41] Αντα δ' αρ' Ἡφαιστοιο μεγας ποταμος, βαθυδινης,
Ὃν Ξανθον καλεουσι Θεοι, ανδρες δε Σκαμανδρον.

In speaking of the herb Moly in the Odyssey, Homer again mentions the language of the Gods; but without putting it in opposition to that of men.

[42] Ῥιζῃ μεν μελαν εσκε, γαλακτι δε ειικελον ανθος·
Μωλυ δε μιν καλεουσι Θεοι.

In the same manner, he takes notice of the famous rocks Symplegades:

[43] Πλαγκτας δη τοι τασγε Θεοι Μακαρες καλεουσι.

In the Scholia upon Theocritus, the same rocks are said to be differently denominated by Gods and by

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[40] Iliad. Ξ. v. 289.
[41] Iliad. Υ. v. 73.
[42] Odyss. K. v. 304.
[43] Odyss. M. v. 61.

mortals, according to Carystius Pergamenus. [44] Καρυστιος ὁ Περγαμηνος φησι, Κυανεας μεν ὑπο ανθρωπων, ὑπο δε Θεων Ορχε Πυλας κεκλησθαι. Proclus quotes some poet, who speaks of the Moon, as differently named by these two parties.

[45] ἡν τε Σεληνην
Αθανατοι καλεζουσιν, επιχθονιοι δε τε Μηνην.

Hesiod mentions the language of men; but of men only: and says, that they had a particular name for a pigeon. [46] Τας δε βροτοι καλεουσι Πελειαδας. Probably there was a reference to the Gods in that part of the passage, which is lost, and to the Iönah. These are the only instances of this nature, that I am able to recollect.

Hence we find, that there were two languages alluded to by the Grecian writers: one of which was the Meropian, or that of the dispersed; the other was the language of Javan.

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[44] Scholia in Theoc. Idyl. 13. v. 22.

[45] Proclus in Timæum Plat. β. ι. γ. p. 154.

[46] E Fragmentis Hesiodi.

OF

OTHER CUTHITE COLONIES

IN

SYRIA, AND IN COLCHIS;

AND OF

THOSE IN THE WEST.

As there are many circumstances to the purpose above, here and there scattered in the course of the former treatises, I must beg leave in some degree to recapitulate the evidences, and to place them in one view before the eye of the reader. For this is a very interesting subject, which has been strangely overlooked, and neglected: though it will appear upon inquiry to be the basis of all Gentile history. Of the sons of Chus, who upon the dispersion betook themselves eastward to the Indus and Ganges, I have spoken at large: also of those who passed into Egypt. When they were ejected from this country, they retired to many parts: and particularly to the coast of Syria; which they occupied under the titles of Belidæ, Cadmians, and Phœnices

From hence they went to Hellas, as I have shewn, likewise to Hetruria, and Iberia; and the coast of the great [1] Atlantic. A colony also settled at Colchis, and upon different parts of the Pontic region. Wherever they came, they were in every respect superior to the natives: and as their settlements were made very early, the annals of each nation begin with their history; and with the history of their forefathers, which was ingrafted upon it. They were very skilful in physic: and generally carried with them vulnerary herbs, and plants of useful and salutary properties; which they adapted to the soil of the countries, whither they came. They particularly cultivated the vine: and almost every region, where they settled, will be found famous for the grape. They introduced Zuth, or ferment; and taught the composition of many liquors. As the earth in the first ages had been overgrown with woods and forests; and was in many places obstructed by lakes, and morasses: they opened roads, and formed causeways: and drained the stagnant waters. Specimens of these extraordinary performances were exhibited in various parts: but all, that they performed at different times, has been attributed to some one hero, either Osiris, Hercules, or Bacchus. In the peregrinations of the last person-

[1] See Diodorus Sic. l. 1. p. 24. and 26. They seem to have been the first who peopled the island Sicily.

age may be particularly seen the history of this people, and of the benefits, which they conferred upon the world. *There was no nation upon earth,* says [2] Diodorus, *neither Grecian, nor foreign, but what was indebted to this Deity for some mark of his munificence, and favour.—He taught people to plant the* [3] *vine, and to preserve the juice of the grape: and to lay up the fruits of the earth in proper repositories.—Those who possessed an harsh, and ungenial soil, not adapted to the cultivation of the vine, were shewn the art of making a drink from barley, not less grateful than that, which proceeded from the grape. The* [4] *person, from whom these blessings were derived, is represented, as of the highest antiquity; and the greatest benefactor, that ever mankind experienced.* The like history is given of [5] Osiris, under which character we are to understand a people, who went forth, and performed all that has been mentioned. Their religion con-

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[2] Ουθετα γαρ, ουθ' Ελληνων, ουτε Βαρβαρων, αμοιρον ειναι της τουτου δωρεας, και χαριτος. Diodor. Sic. l. 3. p. 207.

[3] Τηνδε της αμπελου φυτειαν, και την χρησιν, και την παραθεσιν τουτε ειναι, και των ακροδρυων, και τινων αλλων καρπων. Ibid.

[4] Παλαιον ειναι σφοδρα τουτον, και μεγισταις ευεργεσιαις κατατεθεισθαι την γενεαν των ανθρωπων. Diodorus Sic. l. 4. p. 210.

[5] See the treatise inscribed Osiris. Vol. II. The same things are mentioned of Ouranus. Diodor. l. 3. p. 189. also of Cronus. l. 5. p. 384.

sisted in the worship of the Sun under various titles. To this were added divine honours, paid to their ancestors, the Baalim of the first ages: all which was attended with particular mysterious rites. In these were commemorated the circumstances of the Deluge: and the history of the great Patriarch, through whom mankind was preserved.

Among the many titles, under which this people passed, they particularly preserved those which were most essential, and characteristic. Hence they are continually in the more antient histories represented as Τιτανες και Γηγενεις, *Titanian and Earthborn.* They were also styled Arabians, Ethiopians, Saites, Sethites, Sithonians, Zones, Zoanes, Azones, Amazones, and Arkites. This last was by the Grecians rendered, Αρκαδες και Αργειοι, *Arcadians and Argeans.* But above all they retained their family name of Cutæ, Cuthæ, and Cutheans; which I have shewn to have been almost universally expressed Σκυθαι, Scuthæ, or Scythians.

Those, who settled in [c] Syria, built the city Antioch upon the Orontes; and Zonaras, who speaks of them collectively, as the sons of Ham, mentions, that they got possession of all the country about Li-

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[c] Οι δε Χαμε παιδες την απο Συριας, και Αβανα και Λιβανα των ορων γην κατεσχον. Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 10. p. 22. See Euseb. Chron. p. 12.

banus quite up to the farther part of [7] Syria.. As Phœnicia was imagined to have had its name from a hero, Phœnix: so Syria is said to have been denominated from a like personage Syrus; who was supposed to have come there in the first ages. [8] Τυτοις τοις χρονοις Συρος ἱστορειται γεγονεναι ἠγεμων, ὀυ επωνυμος ἡ Συρια. *In those times it is reported, that Syrus lived, one of the earthborn people: and from him the country received its name.* But the term Sur, and Sour, from whence was formed Συρος, signified the *Sun.* It was the same as Sehor of Egypt, expressed Σειριος, *Seirius*, by the Grecks. Hence we are told, [9] Σειριος ὁ Ἡλιος, *By Seirius is meant the great luminary.* In consequence of this we find places, where the God of light was worshipped under the name of Sehor, and Sur, called [10] Βηθσερ, *Bethsur*, and Βηθσερα, *Bethsoura.* The city Ur in Chaldea was sometimes expressed Sur. Syncellus says that Abraham was born [11] εν τῃ χωρᾳ των Χαλδαιων, εν Σουρ τῃ πολει: *in the land of the Chaldeans, and in the city Sur.* Συρον κοινον ονομα πολλων τοπων: *Sur*, says Stephanus, *is a name common to many places.* The Persians called their

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7 P. 21. See also Syncellus. p. 126.

8 Syncellus. p. 150.

9 Hesych.

10 Beth-Sur. Joshua. c. 15. v. 28. Βαθσερα. Josephus. Antiq. l. 12. c. 7. Βηθσερ. Ibid. l. 8. c. 10. Βαιθσερα. 1 Machab. c. 4. v. 29.

11 P. 93.

chief Deity Sura:[12] Persæ Συρη Deum vocant: and we know, that they particularly adored the Sun. Eusebius speaking of Osiris, the same as Helius, tells us, [13] Ἑλληνες Διονυσον προσαγορευουσι, και Συριον παρωνυμως. *The Grecians call him indifferently Dionusus, or Surius, as being synonymous.* Plutarch also mentions [14] Οσιριν Σειριον, *Osiris Sirius:* which is the same name differently exhibited. From this personage the region had its name. [15] Συρια δε απο Συρε κεκληται. *Syria had its name from Syrus:* which was the same as Helius, and Apollo. It is by Maundeville in his travels uniformly expressed [16] Surrye: which we may imagine to have been the true name, as it was in his time rendered by the natives.

I have dwelt upon this circumstance, because many have supposed Syria to have been named from the city Tyre, expressed Tsor: which is a notion void of all truth. Tyre did not belong to that country. It was separated from Syria by the whole ridge of mountains called Libanus, and Anti-Liba-

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[12] Lilius Gyraldus. Syntag. I. 1. p. 5.

[13] Præp. Evang. l. 1. p. 27.

[14] Is. et Osir. p. 372.

[15] Scholia in Dionys. v. 498. He is sometimes mentioned as the son of Apollo. Συρια απο Συρου γεγονοτος του Απολλωνος. Ibid. v. 775.

[16] The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundevile, Knt. anno 1322.

nus. It did not so much as give name to the little district, where it stood. We never read of Tyria; no more than we do of Sidonia. In short, those, who have given into this opinion, have erred for want of geographical precision. Tyre was not a city of Syria; but of Canaan: and so was Sidon, which stood still higher, about four and twenty miles above it. They were both included in the land of Israel; and belonged to the tribe of Asher. It is accordingly distinguished by the author of the book of [17] Judith: who mentions the people of Tyre and Sidon, and those who dwell in Sur: Τους οντας εν Σιδωνι και εν Τυρῳ, και τους κατοικουντας Σουρ.

Some of this family settled in that part of Canaan, called Galilee; which seems always to have consisted of mixed inhabitants; and from hence was styled Galilee of Nations. Here they founded a city, which was in aftertimes called Scythopolis; but originally [18] Beth-San, from the worship of the Sun. It had the name of Nusa; and there was a tradition, that it had been founded by Dionusus, in memory of his [19] nurse. It seems to have been a Ty-

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[17] C. 2. v. 28.

[18] Scythopolis civitas, Galileæ metropolis, quæ et Bethsan, id est Domus Solis. Eugesippus de Distantiis Locorum in Terrâ Sanctâ.

[19] Σκυθοπολις, Νυσσα, Παλαιστινης πολις, προτερον λεγομενη Βαθσαν· Stephanus Byzant. so corrected.

phonian city: for there was a history of a virgin having been there sacrificed, whom they called Nusa: and the offering is said to have been first made by [20] Argeans. The city also, which they built upon the Orontes, was one of those styled Typhonian. Hence the river was called the stream of [21] Typhon: and there was a tradition of Typhon being buried upon its [22] banks. This was owing to a Taphos, or high altar, named Typhon, upon which they offered human victims. The name of Orontes was said to have been given to the river by one Orontes, an [23] Indian. From hence we may learn, that they were Babylonian and Chaldaïc persons, by whom it was conferred; a colony of people from the Tigris. Hard by was the fine grove of Daphne, denominated from Taphanes in Egypt. The natives

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Scythopolin, antea Nysam, a Libero Patre, sepultâ nutrice, Scythis deductis. Pliny. l. 5. p. 262. The Nusa in India was also built in memory of the nurse of Dionusus.

Την Βιττακχιωμειην
Βροτοισι κλειτην Νυσσαν, ην ὁ Βακχιος
Ιακχος αυτῳ ΜΑΙΑΝ ηδιστην τεμει.

Strabo. l. 15. p. 1008. from Sophocles.

In all these histories there is a strict analogy.

[20] Cedrenus. p. 135.

[21] Strabo. l. 16. p. 1090.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ορονταν ειναι· γενους δε, ειναι αυτον τε Ινδων. Pausan. l. 8. p. 661.

of this region were styled both Iönim and [24] Argeans: and retained many memorials of the Deluge, and of the dispersion afterwards. Many of this family extended themselves quite to the Euphrates; and still farther into Aram-Naharaim: for we read very early of a prince in this region, named [25] Cushan-Rishathaïm: to whom the Israelites were tributary. This is certainly the colony alluded to by Diodorus Siculus, when he tells us, [26] that Belus led a body of people from Egypt to the Euphrates, and there instituted the Chaldaic worship.

OF COLCHIS.

THE region called Colchis was situated at the foot of Mount Caucasus upon the Pontus Euxinus: and was one of the most antient colonies of the Cuthites. It is said to have existed many ages before the æra of the Argonautæ: nay, according to the poet, many of the constellations were not formed in the heavens at the time, when this colony was

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[24] Chron. Paschale. p. 40.

[25] Judges. c 3. v. 8.

[26] L. 1. p. 24. He supposes, that they went to Babylon: but no colony ever settled there; nor was Babylon inhabited for ages.

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[27] founded. One of the principal cities was called Cuta, and Cutaia: hence we read, [28] Κυτα πολις Κολχικη, πατρις Μηδειας. *Cuta was a city of Colchis, in which Medea was born.* [29] Κυταια, πολις Κολχιδος· *also Cutaia was a city of the same region.* The country was called [30] Cuteïs, and Cutais, from the Cuthite inhabitants. Herodotus mentions many particulars, wherein this people resembled the [31] Egyptians. *They had the like tendency to woolly hair; and were of the same dark complexion. There was a great similitude in their manufactures; particularly in their linen: for they abounded in flax, which they brought up to a high perfection after the Egyptian method.* [32] Και ἡ ζωη πασα, και ἡ γλωσσα, εμφερης εστιν αλληλοισιν. *In short their whole way of life, and their language had a great resemblance.* From hence we may perceive, though they were not as the historian supposes, of the real Mizraïm race, yet that they came from a collateral branch, and were a colony from Egypt. They re-

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[27] Ουπω τειρεα παντα, τατ' ουρανῳ ειλισσονται·——πυθλυς γαρ αδην επειγιοθεν αιων Apollon. Argon. l. 4. v. 267. v. 276.

[28] Steph. Byzant.

[29] Scholia in Apollon. l. 4. v. 401.

[30] Γαια Κυτηις. Orph. Argonaut. v. 818.

[31] Μελαγχροες εισι, και ουλοτριχες.—λινον μεγον ὑτοι τε και Αιγυπτιοι εργαζονται. l. 2. c. 104. 105.

[32] Ibid.

tained a great reverence for the memory of their ancestor Chus: and the vast mountain, or rather ridge of mountains, which ran through their country, was from him denominated Caŭcasus; or more truly, according to the idiom of the natives, [33] Co-Cusus. There was also a city of the same [34] name. It signifies the place or temple of Chus, who was called both Casus, and Cusus. Apollonius mentions an antient Typhonian Petra in the hollows of the mountain; where we may suppose the same rites to have been practised, as in the Typhonian cities of Egypt. It was an Ophite temple, where the Deity was probably worshipped under the figure of a serpent. Hence the poet supposes the serpent, with which Jason engaged, to have been produced in these parts:

[35] Ὁν αυτη Γαι' ανεφυσεν
Καυκασῳ εν χνημοισι Τυφαονιη ὁτι Πετρα.

I have mentioned, that Egypt was called Ai-Aït, by the Grecians expressed Aëtia. [36] Εκληθη δε και Αετια, απο Ινδα τινος Αετα. *It was named Aëtia*

[33] It is called Co-cas by Hatho the Armenian. Purchass. vol. 3. p. 109.

[34] Iter a Sebastiâ Co-cuso per Melitenem. Antonin. Itin. p. 176. See also p. 178. This city stood at the foot of the mountain in Armenia: and by Johan. Chrysostome it is called Cucusus.

[35] Apollon. l. 2. v. 1213.

[36] Steph. Byzant. Αιγυπτος.

from one Aëtus of Indic extraction. Ai-Aet answers to Αια Αετε of the Greeks; and signifies the land of the *Eagle:* a name given to Egypt from the hieroglyphic, by which it was denoted. For both an eagle and a vulture were symbols of that [37] country. The people, who settled in Colchis gave this name to the [38] country: whence the king had the title of Aiates; by the Iönians expressed Αιητης, Aietes. We are told above, that it was originally an Indic name, απο τινος ΙΝΔΟΥ Αετε. Hence the Colchians, who were of that family, which first introduced it, were looked upon as an Indic people, being by descent Cuthites of Babylonia. [39] Οι δε Κολχοι Ινδικοι Σκυθαι εισιν. *The Colchians,* says the Scholiast upon Lycophron, *are no other than the Indic Scythæ:* the purport of which terms I have before explained. The Scholiast upon Pindar calls them Scythæ; and under this title gives the same history of them, as has been previously given by Herodotus. [40] Αιγυπτιων αποικοι εισιν οι

[37] It was called Ai-Ait, and Ai-Gupt.

[38] Apollonius uses it out of composition, and calls the country Aia.

Ἐξ Αιης ιεσντο παρ' Αιηταο Κυταιυ. l. 2. v. 1095.

But the original name seems to have been Ai-Aet, or Ai-Ait, though in aftertimes expressed Αια, Aia. See Vol. IV. Cuthia Indica, or Scythia Limyrica.

[39] Schol. in Lycoph. v. 174. See Vol. IV. On the Indi.

[40] Pind. Pyth. Od. 4. v. 376. The poet had previously mentioned the complexion of the Colchians

Ενθα χιλαινωπεσσι Κολχοισι βιαν
Μιξαν Αιητα παρ' αυτω. Ibid.

Σκυθαι· δια τουτο και μελανοχροας αυτους ειναι λεγουσιν. εχουσι δε και λινουργουσι την καλαμην, ωσπερ Αιγυπτιοι. *The Scythæ, or Cuthæans, of Colchis, are a colony from Egypt. Hence they are represented as of a very dark complexion. They deal in flax, of which they make linen after the manner of the Egyptians.* Under the name of Indi they are spoken of by Socrates; who seems to allude to more nations than one of this denomination. [41] Τηνικαυτα γαρ Ινδων τε των ενδοτερω, και Ιθηεων εθνη. Some of them were called Sindi, and Sindones; and they had an harbour named [42] Sindicus Portus. Of their ingenuity and extensive knowledge I have spoken before: also of the obelisks, which they erected, similar to those at Thebes, and in other places of Egypt. Some traces of these things were to be observed in after ages: and one vast stone is particularly commemorated, which was supposed to have been the anchor of the [43] Argo.

Some of these fugitives from Egypt came from Heliopolis, the capital of the region called Zoan. Hence they particularly reverenced the Sun; and

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[41] Hist. Ecclesiast. l. 1. c. 19. p. 49.

[42] Strabo. l. 11. p. 753. 757.

Σινδοι ερημαιον πεδιον μεγα ναιεταοντες. Apollon. l. 4. v. 322.

[43] Λιθινης δε τινος αλλης θεαυσματα εδεικνυτο παλαια· ως—νικασαι εκεινα ειναι τα λειψανα της αγκυρας της Αργους. Arriani Periplus Maris Euxini. p. 9.

from this worship were named [44] Soani. Pliny calls them Suani; and they are spoken of as a powerful people, and of great natural strength. Their neighbours, the Iberians, were of the same race, and like all the Cuthite families, followed the Dionusiaca, or rites of Dionusus. This people are said to have come from Pyrene.

[45] Τῳ δ' επιναιεταασιν εωθινον εθνος Ιβηρων;
Οι ποτε Πυρρηνηθεν επ' αντολιην αφικοντο.

The poet supposes, that they came eastward from Pyrene in Spain: but in these early times colonies did not come from the west; but went for the most part in a quite contrary direction. The Pyrene, Πυρηνη, from whence the Iberi came, was Ur, the land of fire; in other words, Babylonia and Chaldea. Next to them was the nation of the Camaritæ, who shew their original in their name. They are represented as a large and powerful tribe: and are said to have entertained Bacchus, after the Indic war in which he had been put to flight. This flight was (Πυρρηνηθεν) *from the land of fire*, the Chaldaic Ur: and from the banks of the Tigris, the original Indus. From hence the

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[44] Πλησιον δε και οι Σοανες, χρατιστοι κατ' αλκην. Strabo. l. 11. p. 763.

[45] Dionys. περιηγησ. v. 695.

Camaritæ, those priests and votaries of Cham fled, together with the Iberi, and brought the rites of Bacchus into the neighbourhood of Colchis and Caucasus: and established them, where they settled; which is called the entertaining of the fugitive Deity. Of this people the poet Dionysius gives a fine account immediately subsequent to the former.

[46] Και Καμαριταων φυλον μεγα, τοι ποτε Βακχον
Ινδων εκ πολεμοιο δεδεγμενοι εξεινισσον,
Και μετα Ληναιων ἱερον χορον εστησαντο,
Ζωματα, και νεβριδας επι στηθεσσι βαλοντες,
Ευοι, Βακχε, λεγοντες· ὁ δε φρεσι φιλατο Δαιμων
Κεινων ανθρωπων γενεηντε, και ηθεα, γαιης.

It is observable of the [47] Iberians, that they were divided into different casts: each of which had its proper function. The rank and office of every tribe were hereditary and unchangeable. This rule of invariable distinction prevailed no where else, except in [48] India, and [49] Egypt.

That the Colchians were from the latter country, is manifest from the evidence already produced. And we may not only perceive, from whence they

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[46] V. 700.

[47] Strabo. l. 11. p. 765.

[48] Ibid. l. 15. p. 1029.

[49] Herodotus. l. 2. c. 164. The Egyptians and Indi were divided into seven casts; the Iberi only into four.

came; there are sufficient proofs to ascertain also who they were. We may be assured, that they were a part of that body, who by the Egyptians were styled the Hellenic and Phenician Shepherds. They quitted Egypt, and were succeeded by the Israelites, called afterwards the Jews. These also retired, and settled in Canaan, between Arabia and Syria. Of this migration, and of that previous to Colchis, Diodorus affords the following extraordinary evidence. [50] Το τε των Κολχων εθνος εν τω Ποντω, και το των Ιουδαιων ανα μεσον Αραβιας και Συριας, οικησαι τινας ορμηθεντας παρ' εαυτων (Αιγυπτιων). The historian had been speaking of various colonies from this country, and particularly of that colony supposed to be led by Danaus to Argos; and of others to different places: and then adds, *that the Colchic nation upon the Pontus Euxinus, as well as that of the Jews, who settled (in Canaan) between Syria and Arabia, were both founded by people, who went forth in early times from Egypt.* As they enriched this country with many useful arts, we may well expect that they retained to the last some of their original excellence. We accordingly find, that writers speak greatly of their [51] advances in science, though it must have been much impaired, before the

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[50] L. 2. p. 24.

[51] Οσην επιφανειαν ισχυν η χωρα αυτη, δηλωσιν οι μυθοι. Strabo. l. 11. p. 762.

Grecians were acquainted with their coast. They however carried on for a long time an extensive commerce: and we have from Strabo a very good description of their country; the nature of which we may presume to have been always the same. He says, [52] that the whole region abounded with fruits of every kind; and with every material, that was requisite for navigation. The only product of the country at all exceptionable was the honey; which had a bitter taste. Timber was in great plenty: and there were many rivers for its conveyance downwards. They had also abundance of flax and hemp: together with wax and pitch. The linen manufactured by the natives was in high repute. Some of it was curiously painted with figures of animals and flowers; and afterwards dyed, like the linen of the Indians. And [53] Herodotus tells us, that the whole was so deeply tinctured, that no washing could efface the colours. They accordingly exported it to various marts, as it was every where greatly sought after. Strabo says, that many people, who thought that they saw a similitude between the natives of Colchis and of Egypt, particularly in their customs, made use of this circumstance to prove the resemblance. He adds, that the high reputation and splendor, which they once main-

[52] Ibid.

[53] Herod. l. 1. c. 203.

tained, may be known by the repeated evidences, that writers have transmitted concerning them.

OF THE AMAZONS.

AS the Cuthites of Colchis were so very enterprising; and carried on such an extensive commerce; they in consequence of it made many settlements; so that the coast of the Euxine, upon which they lived, was in many places peopled from them. One of their chief colonies seems to have been of that celebrated people, who were called Amazons; and whom the Grecians have represented as a nation of women. They are supposed to have been of a very warlike turn; and to have made expeditions into countries at a great distance. To keep up their community, they permitted men at stated times to come among them: but after that they had enjoyed a sufficient commerce with them, they put them to death. Hence they are said to have been called [54] Aorpata, or murderers of their husbands. Of the children, which were born to them, they slew all the males: but nursed the females; and trained them up to war. And that they might in time use their arms more readily, they seared up the right

[54] Herod. l. 4. c. 110.

[55] breast in their infancy, to prevent its growth: imagining, that otherwise there would be some impediment in their management of the bow. They resided chiefly upon the river [56] Thermodon, and the coast of Cappadocia; where they held the cities [57] Cutora, Amisa, Comana, Themiscura, Cadisia, Lucastia, and Sinope. They also possessed a large tract of territory in Armenia. They overran divers countries; and many cities are said to have been founded by them; which cities were of the highest antiquity. This is the history which has been transmitted concerning the Amazons: but is it possible, that such a nation could have existed? or could such mighty operations have been carried on by a band of women? Every circumstance, as it is related, is incredible: yet there have been at all times [58] persons, who have espoused this notion; and made use of all their learning and ingenuity to shew, that

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[55] Ἅπασας δὲ ἐπικεκαυσθαι τον δέξιον μαζον εκ παιδων, ὡς ευπετως χρησθαι τῳ βραχιονι προς ἁπασαν χρειαν. Strabo. l. 11. p. 769. Penthisilea in Virgil is mentioned,

Aurea subnectens exectæ cingula mammæ. Æneid. l. v. 492.

[56] Quales Threiciæ cum flumina Thermodontis
Pulsant, et pictis bellantur Amazones armis.
Ibid. l. 11. v. 659.

[57] Strabo. l. 12. p. 823, 825.

Θεμισκυρα,—ἡ ἡ τα βασιλεια των Αμαζονων ὑπηρχε.
Diodor. Sic. l. 4. p. 224.

[58] See particularly Petri Petiti, Philosophi et Medici, de Amazonibus Dissertatio. Lutetiæ Parisior. 1685.

such a community of women did exist. In consequence of this, they have been forced to maintain the whole series of gross absurdities, with which the notion is attended.

Many try in some degree to extenuate the cruelty mentioned in the above history, in order to make it more correspondent to reason. They tell us, that the Amazons did not kill their male children; but only [59] lamed them, that they might stay at home, and be more subservient to their commands. In respect to their searing the right breasts of the females, both Hippocrates and Galen allow, that it was so reported: but they say, that it was not done on account of any impediment, which might have accrued in the management of the bow; but to render the right arm stronger by an addition of [60] aliment. For what would have gone to the breast, would now be expended on the neighbouring mem-

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[59] —— Τωνδε γενομενων τας μεν αρσενας επηρουν τα τε σκελη, και τας βραχιονας, αχρηστες κατασκευαζοντες προς τας πολεμικας χρειας· των δε θηλυτερων τον δεξιον μαζον επικαιειν. Diodor. Sic. l. 2. p. 128.

[60] Galen of Hippocrates. Τας γουν Αμαζονιδας αυτος φησιν επικαιειν τον δεξιον τιτθον, ινα εις την πλησιον χειρα πλειονος τροφης αφικνουμενης ευρωστια τις αυτη προσγενηται· ως τη φυσει γε και ταυτης υπαρχουσης ασθενες. Comment. in Aphorism. 43. sect. 7.

Μυθολογουσι δε τινες, οτι αι Αμαζονιδες το αρσεν γενος το εαυτων, αυτικα νηπιον ον, εξαρθρευσιν· αι μεν κατα γενατα, αι δε κατα τα ισχια, ως δηθεν χωλα γενοιτο, και μη επιβαλλευοι το αρρεν γενος τω θηλει.—— ει μεν δη αληθεα ταυτα εστι, εγω ουκ οιδα. Hippocrates περι αερων. c. 38. vol. 2. p. 814.

ber. This is a notable refinement. These learned men should have been sure of the fact, before they gave a reason for the process. To me it appears to be a most idle fable: and notwithstanding the high authority of these truly great physicians, I appeal to any anatomist to determine, whether it be possible, by any cauterizing in the state of infancy to prevent the future breast from rising: and were it possible, whether it could be performed by any means, which would not equally affect the life. But setting this aside, the advantage is too ideal: and the whole is so remote a consideration, that it never could have been thought of by a parent. Or if it had, such a theory could never have been reduced to practice, and adopted by a nation. It is not to be believed, that a mother could be devoted to such an infernal policy, as to sear the bosom of her daughter with a red-hot [61] iron: or to break the legs, or disjoint the knees of her son; or to render him incurably lame in the hips and thighs by luxation, as Hippocrates and Galen assert: and this that he might be more easily reduced to a state of dependence and slavery.

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[61] Hippocrates says, that they used χαλκιον τετεχνημενον, an implement of brass, which they heated for that purpose; and then προς τον μαζον τιθεασι τον δεξιον, και επικαιεται, ὡστε την αυξησιν φθειρεσθαι, ες δε τον δεξιον ωμον και βραχιονα πασαν την ισχυν και το σωμα εκδιδοται. Hippocrates de Aquis, Locis, Aere. c. 42. vol. 2. p. 552.

The whole of this strange history has been owing to a wrong etymology. The Greeks, who would fain deduce every thing from their own language, imagined, that by the term Amazon was signified a person without a [62] breast. This person they inferred to be a female: and in consequence of it, as the Amazons were a powerful people, they formed a notion, that there were a community of [63] women, who subsisted by themselves: and every absurdity, with which this history is attended, took its rise from the misconception above. They did not consider, that there were many nations of Amazons widely separated from each other: nor did they know, that they were themselves of Amazonian race. There may be found however some few, who saw the improbability of the story, and treated it with suitable contempt. Palæphatus, a man justly complimented for his good [64] sense, gave it no [65] credit. Strabo was born at Amastris in Cappadocia, an Amazonian region; and yet could obtain no evi-

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[62] Αμαζων was supposed to be a compound of α and μαζος.

[63] Αι δε Αμαζονιες πασαι ανδρας ουκ εχουσιν, αλλ' ως τα αλογα ζωα απαξ του ετους περι την εαρινην ισημεριαν υπερβαινουσαι τους ιδιους ορους κοινωνουσι τοις πλησιοχωροις, εορτην τινα ταυτην ηγουμενοις. Bardesanes apud Euseb. P. E. l. 7. p. 277.

[64] Παλαιφατος ὁ σοφωτατος.

[65] Στρατειαν δε γυναικων ουδεποτε εικος γενεσθαι· ουδε γαρ νυν ουδαμου. Palæphatus. p. 84.

dence to countenance the history. He says, [66] *that many legendary stories have a mixture of truth; and most accounts admit of some variation. But the history of the Amazons has been uniformly the same; the whole a monstrous and absurd detail, without the least shew of probability. For who can be persuaded, that a community of women, either as an army, or a city, or a state, could subsist without men? and not only subsist, but make expeditions, into other countries, and gain the sovereignty over kingdoms: not merely over the Iönians, and those who were in their neighbourhood; but to pass the seas, and to carry their arms into Europe? To accede to this were to suppose, that nature varied from her fixed principles: and that in those days women were men, and men* [67] *women.* This is very sensibly urged: and if it be incredible, that such an establishment should subsist in one place, as Strabo supposes; it must be

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[66] Περι δε των Αμαζονων τα αυτα λεγεται και νυν, και παλαι, τερατωδη τ' οντα, και πιστεως πορρω. κτλ. Strabo. l. 11. p. 770.

[67] Τουτο γαρ ομοιον, ως αν ει τις λεγοι τους μεν ανδρας γυναικας γιγνομενους τοτε, τασδε γυναικας ανδρας. Ibid.

If such a people had really existed, some traces of them would have been found, either in Iberia, and Albania; or in the country upon the Thermodon, where they are supposed chiefly to have resided. But Procopius says, that there was no mark, no tradition to be obtained concerning them. De Bello Goth. l. 4. c. 3. p. 570.

still more improbable, that there should be nations of women widely separated, and all living independent of men. This has not been attended to by those, who would countenance the fable. The most considerable body, that went under the name of Amazons, settled upon the Atlantic in Africa, at the extreme verge of that region. Of their exploits and expeditions a long account is given in the history of [68] Myrina. She is supposed to have lived in the time of Orus, the son of Isis, and to have conquered Africa, and the greater part of Asia; but was at last slain in Thrace. There were Amazons in Mount Caucasus, near Colchis and [69] Albania, and likewise near the Palus [70] Mæotis. Polyænus speaks of Amazons in [71] India; and they are also mentioned by Nonnus. They likewise occur in [72] Ethiopia. They at one time possessed all [73] Ionia:

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[68] Diodor. Sic. l. 3. p. 188. and p. 185.

Διονυσιος εν δευτερῳ κατα Λιβυην αυτας ωκησεναι φησιν.——υπεταξαι τε αυταις το Ατλαντικον εθνος. Scholia in Apollon. l. 2. v. 966.

[69] Ὑπερ της Αλβανιας ορεσι και τας Αμαζονας οικειν φασι. Strabo. l. 11. p. 769.

[70] Των Γυναικοκρατουμενων εχονται Μαιωται. Scylacis Periplus apud Geogr. Vet. vol. 2. p. 31.

[71] Αμαζονας και Ινδους. l. 1. p. 11.

[72] Ξενοθεμις δε αυτας φησιν ωκησεναι εν Αιθιοπια. Scholia in Apollon. l. 2. v. 966.

[73] Αμαζονειον ὑτως εκαλειτο και ἡ Κυμη. Steph. Byzant. There were Amazons upon the Danube, according to Philostratus in Heroicis.

and there were traditions of their being at [74] Samos, and in [75] Italy. Even the Athenians and Bœotians were of the same family: hence it is said, that Cadmus had an [76] Amazonian wife, when he went to Thebes; and that her name was Sphinx. It will be found, that the Colchians and Iberians, as well as the Cimmerians and Mæotæ, were Amazonians. So were all the Ionians; and the Atlantians of Mauritania. They were in general Cuthite colonies from Egypt and Syria: and as they worshipped the Sun, they were called Azones, Amazones, Alazones; which are names of the same purport; and have equally a reference to the national object of [77] worship. The most noted were those who settled near the river Thermodon, in the reign of Pontus. They were also called Chalybes, and Alybes; and occupied part both of Cappadocia, and Armenia. The poet Dionysius takes notice of their settlements in these parts, and styles the region Assyria.

[78] Τες δε μετ' Ασσυριης προχυσις χθονος εκτετανυσαι
Ενθεν Αμαζονιδεσσιν απ' ηρεος Αξιμενιοιο
Λευκον ὑδωρ προιησιν Ενυαλιος Θερμωδων.

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[74] Plutarch. Quæst. Græcæ. vol. 1. p. 303.

[75] Αμαζονες ὑπεστρεψαν αυθις εις Ιταλιαν. Schol. in Lycoph. v. 1332. also v. 995. There was a town in Messapia, towards the lower part of Italy, named Amazonia. Steph. Byzant.

[76] Καδμος εχων γυναικα Αμαζονιδα, ἡ ονομα Σφιγξ, ηλθεν εις Θηβας. Palæphatus. p. 26. He went first to Attica.

[77] Pausanias mentions Apollo Amazonius, who was worshipped in Laconia. l. 3. p. 274.

[78] V. 773.

It is spoken of in the same manner by the [79] poet Apollonius. There were more regions than one called Assyria: but the principal was that about [80] Nineve. This was denominated from Assur the son of Shem. There were others, which were so called on another account, and of a different etymology. They were properly expressed Ai-Sur, from the Sun, to whom they were sacred. For as Ai-Mon, and Ai-monia, signified Lunaris Regio; so by Ai-Sur, and Aisuria, was denoted Regio Solaris. Syria, as I have shewn, was denominated from Sur, Sol: and it was often called [81] Assuria. Ur in Chaldea was sometimes expressed [82] Sur, as has been observed before. On this account the region of Syria above mentioned, as well as that in Pontus, ought to have been differently rendered, and distinguished from the land of [83] Assur: but the Grecians from a similitude in sound were led to express them alike. As the land of Chaldea was

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[79] Apollonius speaks to the same purpose.

——λειπον δ' αγχιῤῥοον Ιριν,
Ηδε και Ασσυριης προχυσιν χθονος, ηματι δ' αυτω
Γναμψαν Αμαζονιδων ικαθεν λιμανηχοον ακτην. l. 2. v. 966.

[80] The original Assyria was undoubtedly the land of Babylonia: but it seems to have lost that name.

[81] Εισι δε ετεροι (Ασσυριοι) παρα τους Συρους. Steph. Byzant.

[82] Abraham was born εν τη χωρα των Χαλδαιων εν Σουρ τη πολει. Syncellus. p. 95.

[83] The two names should have been written Assuria and Aisuria; which would have prevented all mistakes.

sometimes called Sur; so the Pontic Suria had the name of Chaldea; and the people were styled Chaldeans. They were the same as the Alybes, and Chalybes; who were situated near [84] Sinope; and extended towards [85] Colchis. They are mentioned by Homer among the allies of the Trojans: and came under the conduct of Odius and Epistrophus.

[86] Αυταρ Αλιζωνων Οδιος και Επιστροφος ηρχον
Τηλοθεν εξ Αλυβης.

This passage has been quoted by Ephorus, and it is observable, that for Alizonians he read Amazonians: which undoubtedly arose from the two words being synonymous. He calls the place Alope.

[87] Αυταρ Αμαζωνων Οδιος και Επιστροφος ηρχον
Ελθοντ' εξ Αλοπης.

Strabo says, that the name of Chaldeans given to this people was not so old, as that of Alybes and [88] Chalybes. It is of little moment, when the name

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84 Pomponius Mela. l. 1. c. 19. p. 102.

85 Χαλδαιοι μιχρι Κολχιδος. Strabo. l. 12. p. 833. Χαλδαιως μιχρι της μικρας Αρμενιας. Ibid. p. 832.

86 Iliad. B. v. 856.

87 Strabo. l. 12. p. 827.

88 Οι δε νυν Χαλδαιοι Χαλυβες το παλαιον ωνομαζοντο. Ibid. p. 826.

came into common use among the Grecians; it is sufficient, that the people were so called. Two of their principal cities were Sinope and Amison. [89] Chalybes proximi urbium clarissimas habent Amison et Sinopen. The latter city by Pliny is more truly expressed [90] Amazon: and he mentions a mountain near it of the same name. The people of this place were probably the principal of those styled Amazonians.

That this Assyria had no relation to Assur, but was a compound of Ai-Sur, may, I think, be proved from the latter term being found out of composition; and from the people being often called Συρoι, and Συριοι; *Syri*, and *Syrians*. The Scholiast upon Dionysius mentions them by this name. [91] Συριοι, οι παρα Θερμωδοντα ποταμον. *The people, who live upon the Thermodon*, (by whom are meant the Amazonians) *are Syrians*. Herodotus says the same of the Cappadocians. [92] Οι δε Καππαδοκαι ὑφ' Ελληνων Συριοι ονομαζονται. *The Cappadocians are by the Greeks called Syrians*. The country of the people must in consequence of this have had the name of Syria, and also Αι-Συρια, Aï-Suria; by mistake rendered Assyria. The inhabitants were also called

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[89] Pompon. Mela. l. 1. c. 19.

[90] Mons Amazonium et oppidum. l. 6. p. 303.

[91] V. 772. Οι Συροι ὑπο Περσων καλεονται Καππαδοκαι. Ibid. p. 137.

[92] L. 1. c. 72. See Strabo. l. 12. p. 833.

[93] Λευκο-Συροι, Luco-Syri, from Λευκ, and Συρ, two names of the Deity, whom they worshipped. Stephanus Byzantinus having mentioned, that there were Chaldeans near Colchis, Χαλδαιοι εθνος. πλησιον της Κολχιδος, quotes a fragment out of Sophocles, wherein these peculiar names of the Pontic Amazonians are mentioned.

[94] Κολχος τε, Χαλδαιος τε, και Συρων εθνος.

They had also the name of Mauri, or Moors; similar to those of their family in India, and Mauritania. Under this appellation they are mentioned by the author of the Orphic Argonautica.

[95] Λαια δ' επιπλωσαντες εκελσαμεν αιγιαλοισιν,
Ἠιχι τε Μαυροι εσαν, Μαριανδυροισιν ὁμαρτοι.

Every circumstance shews plainly their original.

As this people had different titles in the countries where they settled; and often in the same region; their history by these means has been confounded. We find, that they were called not only Amazonians, but Syri, Assyrii, Chaldæi, Mauri, Chalybes:

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[93] Strabo. l. 16. p. 1071. Λευκος, Sol. Macrob. Saturn. l. 1. p. 191. Hence Lux, and Luceo.

[94] Τυμπανιται.

[95] V. 741.

and were still further diversified. They were the same as the Iönim; and in consequence of it they are said to have founded the chief and most antient cities in Ionia, and its neighbourhood. Among these are to be reckoned [95] Ephesus, Smyrna, Cuma, Myrina, Latorea, Anæa, Elæa, Myrlea, Paphos, Cuna; besides many others, which further witness their original, by the devices on their coins. For the money of the cities in Asia Minor, and particularly of those in Phrygia, Ionia, and Mysia, has often an Amazon for its device. At other times there is a representation of Rhea, or Cybele, crowned with a tower, to denote the religion of the place. And as the Deity there worshipped was known under different titles; the names of these cities will be found to have a reference to them. And not only the cities, but the rivers and fountains

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[95] Κτισεις γουν πολεων και επωνυμιαι λεγονται, καθαπερ Εφεσου, και Σμυρνης, και Κυμης, και Μυρινης, και Παφου, και αλλα ὑπομνηματα. Strabo. l. 11. p. 771. See Diodorus Sic. l. 3. p. 188.

Σμυρνα—απο Σμυρνης Αμαζονος. Steph. Byzant.

Κυμη—τοδε ονομα απο Αμαζονος, καθαπερ και ἡ Μυρινη. Strabo. l. 11. p. 771.

Κυμη πολις Αιολικη—απο Κυμης Αμαζονος. Steph.

Latorea - απο Λατωρειας Αμαζονος. Athenæus. l. 1. p. 31.

Αναια—απο Αναιας Αμαζονος. Steph.

Ελαια—απο Ελαιας Αμαζονος. Schol. in Dionys. v. 828.

Κυννα—απο μιας των Αμαζονων. Steph. Byzant.

Και επωνυμους (των Αμαζονων) πολεις τινας ειναι φασι; και γαρ Εφεσου, και Σμυρνην, και Κυμην, και Μυρλειαν. Strabo. l. 12. p. 827.

being held sacred, will appear to be denominated in the same manner: and from hence the original of the people may be known. [97] Ὅτι δὲ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες πολλοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ κατεσχον τόπους ποτε, δηλοῦσι καὶ κρῆναι τινες Ἀμαζονων ὁμωνυμοι, καὶ μὴν καὶ πολεις, οἷον αὐτη ἡ Ἐφεσος, ἡ Μυρινη ἡ Αἰολικη. *That the Amazons held many places in Asia, may be seen from their names having been given to fountains, as well as to cities: which names are still* [98] *retained. This is apparent in the name of Ephesus, Anæa, and of Myrina in Æolia.* They were no other than the Iönim, of whom I have treated at large: and though the Helladians would persuade us, that this part of the world was peopled from Attica; and from other little districts in Greece: yet it is all a mistake. They gave out, that [99] Neileus, Athamas, Ægyptus, and Canopus an Erythrean, went at different times from Hellas, and founded the chief places in Iönia. They were without doubt founded by Nileidæ, and

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[97] Scholia in Dionys. v. 828.

[98] Those antient terms, which he looks upon as the names of Amazons, were sacred titles; and all related to the religion of the people. Elæa was the city of the Olive: Cuma the city of the Sun: Cuna the Royal city.

[99] Αἰγυπτον Νειλεως. Pausan. l. 7. p. 526.

Νειλευς—ες Μιλητου. Pausan. l. 7. p. 524. Εὐρυθρας δὲ Καινεπος, or as Casaubon reads, Κυπρος. Strabo. l. 14. p. 939.

Νειλευς, Πελοπονησιων καὶ Αθηναιων ἡγεμονες, εἰς Ασιαν ελθων της Ιωνικης φκισεν πολεις. Eusch. Chron. p. 36.

people of Egypt: by Canopians and Erythreans: but they did not come from Greece. The most memorable, and one of the most antient events in the annals of this country was Ιωνος αφιξις, the arrival of Iön the son of Xuth. He was supposed to have come in the reign of [100] Erectheus, and to have settled in Attica, at the very time, that Hellen the son of Deucalion betook himself to Ai-mon, Αιμωνια, the same as Thessaly. We are assured by [1] Thucydides, and by other good writers, that Greece was for many ages after this in an unsettled state, and thinly peopled. And the natives of Attica for a long time lived [2] dispersed: and were not formed into any kind of community, till the time of Theseus. Yet there are said to have been many colonies sent out before his æra. Nay the very person, Iön, the son of Xuth, who is supposed to have come in the most early times, led out, before he could be well fixed, no less than thirteen colonies to Ionia. [3] Athenienses ex responsis Apollinis Delphici communi consilio totius Hellados *tredecim* colonias uno tempore in Asiam deduxerunt: ducesque in singulis coloniis constituerunt; et summam imperii partem

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[100] Strabo. l. 8. p. 587. Tatianus Assyrius, p. 274.

[1] L. 1. c. 3.

[2] Plutarch. in Theseo.

[3] Vitruvius, l. 4. c. 1.

Iones, duce Ione, perfecti Athenis nobilissimam partem regionis maritimæ occupaverunt. Velleius Paterculus. l. 1. c. 4.

Ïoni, Xeuthi et Creusæ filio dederunt. *The Athenians in obedience to some oracles of Apollo at Delphi, by the joint consent of the whole Hellenic state, sent out at the same time thirteen colonies into Asia, and appointed a leader to each. But the chief command of the whole they intrusted to Ïon, the son of Xeuth and Creusa.*

Under the history of Ïon and Hellen is signified the arrival of the Ïones and Hellenes; who came into Attica and Thessaly. In these times there was no Hellenic body: nor was the name of Hellas as yet in general acceptation: so that the above history is all a fable. How is it possible to conceive, that a country should be able to send out thirteen bodies of men so early: or that people should migrate, before they could be well settled? It was, it seems, effected by the joint advice of all the Grecian states. But there was at these times neither Hellenic state, nor kingdom; nor were any of the great communities formed. Besides the above-mentioned, there were other colonies sent out in a long succession: and these so numerous, that one would imagine that the country quite up to Thrace must have been exhausted. One of these was led by [4] Ïolaus from Attica and Thespis: and not long after there were migrations under [5] Phorbus

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[4] Pausanias. l. 7. p. 524. He gives an account of many colonies.

[5] Euseb. Chron. p. 13. Versionis Lat.

to Rhodes; and under Tleptolemus of [6] Argos to the same place: under Triopas to [7] Caria; and under others to Crete. Under Penthilus the son of Orestes to Thrace: under Archelaus to Cyzicus and Bithynia. The Athenians pretended to have founded Erythræa; and to have built Cuma, Ephesus, and the twelve cities of Ionia: and most of the islands were peopled from the same [8] quarter. The Amazonian city Elaia was according to them built by [9] Mnestheus, who lived at the supposed æra of Troy: all which is inconsistent and untrue. Some fugitives from Hellas may at times have crossed the seas: but the celebrated cities of Ionia were coëval with Greece itself, and built by people of the same family, the Iönim, who at other times were styled Amazons. Their history was obsolete; and has been greatly misrepresented; yet there are evidences still remaining to shew who they were: and the Grecians, however inconsistent it may appear, confess, that these cities were of [10] Amazonian original.

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[6] This was before the war of Troy.

Εις Ροδον ιξεν αλωμενος αλγεα πασχων (Τληπτολεμος). Iliad. B. v. 667.

[7] See Marsham's Chron. p. 340. Græcorum Coloniæ.

[8] Strabo. l. 14. p. 939. See Marmora Arundeliana.

[9] Ελαια Μενεσθεως κτισμα, και των συν αυτω Αθηναιων των συστρατευσαντων επι Ιλιον. Strabo. l. 13. p. 923.

[10] See backward the quotations from Strabo, Diodorus, Stephanus, Athenæus, and the Scholiasts, p. 122.

The Amazons were [11] Arkites, who came from Egypt; and worshipped the Sun, and Selene, the chief deities of the country, from whence they came. Herodotus styles them Æorpata, and says, that they had this name from killing their husbands. But granting that they were women, I never found that they ever had husbands; unless an accidental commerce with any man they met, and such as they are here supposed immediately to kill, can entitle him to be called an husband. Æorpata is a name taken from their worship; which was given to their priests. It signifies a priest of אור, or Orus, analogous to Pataneit, Patazithes, Atropata, Asampata, of Egypt, and other countries. These priests used to sacrifice strangers, who by chance came upon their coast; and from thence were styled (Ανδροκτονοι) murderers.

It is well known, that the Egyptians admitted the sistrum among their military instruments of music; and made use of it, when they went to war. Hence Virgil says of Cleopatra—[12] patrio vocat agmina sistro. And the same princess is upbraided by another poet for presuming to bring this barbarous instrument in opposition to the Roman trumpet—

[13] Roman amque tubam crepitanti pellere sistro.

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[11] One of their chief cities was called Archæopolis. Procop. de B. G. l. 4. c. 13.

[12] Virgil. Æneis. l. 8. v. 696.

[13] Propertius. l. 3. Eleg. 9. v. 43.

The same practice prevailed among the Amazons, who worshipped the Isis of Egypt, and made use of her sistrum, when they engaged in battle.—[14] Apud Amazonas sistro ad bellum fœminarum exercitus vocabatur. They are the words of Isidorus, who gives into the notion of their being a nation of women; but affords us this material circumstance in their history. In another place he speaks to the same purpose. [15] Apud Amazonas autem non tubâ, sicut a regibus, sed a reginâ sistro vocabatur fœminarum exercitus.

The Amazonians of Colchis and Armenia were not far removed from the Minyæ near Mount Ararat: and were undoubtedly of the same family. They were Arkites, as we may learn from the people of Pontic Theba; and followed the rites of the Ark, under the name of Meen, Baris, and Iöna. Hence it is, that they have ever been represented with lunar shields. Many have thought, that they were of a lunar shape: but this is a mistake, for most of the Asiatic coins represent them otherwise. The lunette was a device taken from their worship. It was the national ensign, which was painted upon their shields; whence it is said of them: pictis bellantur Amazones armis. And in another place: ducit Amazonidas lunatis agmina peltis Penthiselea

[14] Isidorus. Orig. l. 2. c. 21.
[15] Ibid. l. 18. c. 4.

furens. The Amazonian shield approached nearly to the shape of a leaf, as did the shields of the Gothic nations. Pliny says of the Indian fig: [16] Foliorum latitudo peltæ effigiem Amazoniæ habet. Upon these shields they had more lunettes than one: and from them the custom was derived to the Turks, and other Tartar nations.

A large body of this family settled upon the Boristhenes; also in the Tauric Chersonese, and in the [17] regions adjacent. In these places they were styled Amazons, and also [18] Cimmerians. Some writers have thought, that the colony of the Colchians was from hence: but others more truly suppose, that this people came from Colchis. They were once a very

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[16] Pliny. Hist. Nat. l. 12. c. 5. p. 657.

[17] Especially upon the Tanais.

Τοσσοι μεν ποταμοι Ταναϊν περιναιεταασι,
Σινδοι, Κιμμεριοι τε. Dionys. Periny. v. 678.

Here was a river Phasis, similar to that at Colchis. Εστι γαρ και ετερος (Φασις) Ευρωπης, πλησιον της Μαιωτιδος λιμνης, και τω Ταναϊδος ποταμω. Scholia in Pind. Pyth. Od. v. 4. 376.

[18] Some speak of the Amazons and Cimmerians as only confederates: but they were certainly the same people. When Seneca mentions the Amazons invading Attica, he brings them from the Tanais and Mæotis.

Qualis relictis frigidi Ponti plagis
Egit catervas Atticum pulsans solum
Tanaïtis aut Mæotis —— Hippolytus. Act. 2. v. 399.

But they are generally supposed to have come from the Thermodon.

powerful [19] nation, and made a considerable figure: and though their history, on account of their antiquity, is somewhat dark, yet we have sufficient evidences of their greatness. They are said to have overran the coast of Pontus and Bithynia; and to have seized upon all Ionia. But as the times of these inroads are variously represented, there is reason to think, that these histories relate to their first settling in those parts. For though it is not impossible, but that one part of a family may make war upon another, yet it is not in this instance probable. We know that most of the migrations of old were by the Greeks represented as warlike expeditions. And there is room to think, that this has been misrepresented in the same manner. However both [20] Herodotus and Strabo mention these invasions; and the latter speaks of the Cimmerians as being likewise called [21] Τρηρωνες, *Trerones*. He says, that they often made inroads upon the southern coasts of Pontus, and all the neighbouring provinces: sometimes invading the Paphlagonians, and at other times the Phrygians and Ionians. This is extraordinary: for they were certainly of the same family as the Ionim, who were denominated from Ionah, the Dove. The

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[19] Εκεκτηντο δ' οι Κιμμεριοι μεγαλην ωστε εν τω Βοσπορω δυναμιν· διοπερ και Κιμμερικος Βοσπορος ωνομασθη. Strabo. l. 11. p. 756.

[20] L. 1. c. 6. 15.

[21] Οι τε Κιμμεριοι, ους τε, και Τρηρωνας ονομαζουσιν, η εκεινων τι εθνος, πολλακις επεδραμον τα δεξια μερη τω Ποντω, και τα συνεχη αυτοις, κτλ. Strabo. l. 1. p. 106.

word Τρηρων, Treron, is a translation of the original name; and is precisely of the same purport. Hence we read in Homer more than once of [22] τρηρωνα, τελειαν· and of Mycene in the city of Iuno, being styled [23] πολυτρηρωνα Μυκηνην. It has been shewn, that the Cimmerians worshipped Osiris, and the emblematical Deity Taur-Ione: so that we may be certified of their original. The people whom they invaded upon the coast of Pontus, were both Cimmerians and Amazonians. They lived near the lake Acherusia, upon the river Sagar; or as the Greeks expressed it [24] Σαγγαριος: and one of their chief cities was [25] Heraclea. What is most extraordinary, while they are carrying on these acts of hostility, they are joined by the very people, the Amazonians, upon whom they are making war. [26] Αμαζονες τη

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[22] Iliad. X. v. 238. Ψ. v. 853.

[23] Iliad. B. v. 502. and v. 582. They were also Amazonians: their chief river the Tanais was styled Amazonius. εκαλειτο δε προτερον Αμαζονιος. Auctor de Fluminibus. Geogr. Vet. v. 2. p. 27.

They were of the Titanic race, and are said to have retreated hither after their defeat, and to have been sheltered in a strong hold called Keira. Dion. Cassius.

[24] Sagar is the same as Sachor, the name of the Nile, which has been given to a river in Pontus. Acherusia is from the same quarter. In these parts was a river Indus. Amnis Indus in Cibyritarum jugis ortus. Pliny. l. 5. p. 275.

[25] Πολις Ηρακλεια—οπου Κιμμεριοι. Scholia in Dionys. v. 790.
Ηρακλεια—περι ην Αχερουσια Χερρονησος. Ibid.

[26] Euseb. Chron. p. 35. Syncellus. p. 178.

Ασιᾳ επηλθον ἁμα Κιμμεριοις. αυται και το εν Εφεσῳ ἱερον προσενεπρησαν. *The Amazons overran Asia in conjunction with the Cimmerians: they likewise burnt the temple at Ephesus.* This too is very extraordinary: for it was a noble structure; which they had erected with their own hands; and which they must have particularly reverenced. The city Ephesus was the chief seat of the Amazonian Iönim.

[27] Παρραλιην Εφεσον, μεγαλην πολιν Ιοχειρας,
Ενθα δη ποτε νηον Αμαζονιδες τετυχοντο.

The like is mentioned by Mela. [28] Ephesus, et Dianæ clarissimum templum, quod Amazones Asiâ potentes sacrâsse traduntur. I think it is scarcely possible for these accounts to be precisely true. We may be assured, according to the generally received opinion concerning the Ionians, that they were the same as the Amazonians; and their cities were of Amazonian original. The best histories are to this purpose: and the coins of almost every city further prove it. The Grecians indeed, though they continually contradict themselves, claim the honour of having peopled these regions. But as this was a work of great antiquity, they have been forced to carry the æra of their peregrinations so high, as

[27] Dionysius. v. 827. See also Pausanias. l. 4. p. 357.
[28] Mela. l. 1. c. 17. p. 87.

to totally disagree with their state and history. In consequence of this, they are represented as making powerful settlements abroad, before they could maintain themselves at home: at a time when their country was poorly inhabited: and must have been exhausted by such draughts. Strabo, who had enquired into these histories diligently, laments the uncertainty, with which they are attended. He gives into the common notion, that Rhodes, and other Asiatic places, were peopled from Greece before the war of Troy: yet seems to be diffident; and confesses, that the accounts given of these places and countries are very obscure and uncertain. [29] *This obscurity*, says Strabo, *has arisen not only from the changes and revolutions, which have happened in these provinces; but also from the disagreement to be found in writers, who never describe the same fact in the same manner.* The inroads of the Cimmerians and Amazonians are equally obscure and uncertain.

It is mentioned by Apollonius Rhodius, that, when Orpheus played upon the lyre, the trees of Pieria came down from the hills to the Thracian coast, and ranged themselves in due order at

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[29] Γιγνεται δε ἡ ασαφεια ου δια τας μεταβολας μονον, αλλα και δια τας των συγγραφεων ανομολογιας, περι των αυτων ου τα αυτα λεγοντων. Strabo. l. 12. p. 859.

[30] Zona. As the people, of whom I have been treating, worshipped the Sun, whom they styled Zon, there were in consequence of it many places, which they occupied, called Zona. One of these, we find, was in Thrace, near the Hebrus. It was undoubtedly a city built by the Orphite priests, and denominated from the luminary, which they adored. There was a city Zona in Africa, said to have been taken by the Roman [31] general Sestius; which we may suppose to have been named from the same object. I mention these things, because there was likewise a city [32] Zona of the Amazons in Cappadocia, which led the Greeks into a strange mistake. For when, in their legendary histories, they suppose Hercules to march to Zona, and to take it; they misconstrue the name, and imagine, that it was ζωνη, *a bandage*. Hence instead of a city, they uniformly render it ζωστηρ, and make the grounds of the Amazonian war to have been a woman's girdle.

The term Zon, the Sun, was oftentimes varied to Zan, Zaön, and Zoan; and people and places were

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[30] Argonaut. l. 1. v. 29.

Serrium, et, quo canentem Orphea secuta narrantur nemora, Zone. Mela. l. 2. c. 2. p. 140. See Herod. l. 7. c. 59.

[31] Dionys. Hist. Rom. l. 48.

[32] It is called Zoana by Antoninus, p. 182, who places it in Armenia Minor; which was an Amazonian province, and often ascribed to Cappadocia.

accordingly denominated. I have taken notice of the [33] Suanes and Soanes of Colchis; who were sometimes called [34] Zani. Mention is made of a temple in Thrace named Σαον, Saon: which is a variation of the same term, as is mentioned above. It was situated near a cavern: and is said to have been built by the Corybantes, and to have also had the name of Zerynthus. [35] Lycophron accordingly styles it, Ζηρυνθον αντρον—ερυμνον κτισμα Κυρβαντων Σαον.

One of the most extraordinary circumstances in the history of the Amazons is their invasion of Attica. They are represented as women, who came from the river Thermodon, in revenge for the insult offered to them by Hercules, who had plundered their country. Their attack is described as very violent; and the conflict for a long time doubtful. At last, having lost many of their companions, they were obliged to retreat, and intirely leave the country. The Athenians pretended to have many evidences of this invasion: they pointed out the place of engagement: the very spot, where they

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[33] Pliny. l. 6. c. 4.

[34] They were called Zani, Zaïni, and Zanitæ; also Sanitæ. Agathias. l. 5. p. 143. Τσαινοι, Tsaini. The author of the Chronicon Paschale calls them Salli and Sanitæ, Σαλλοι και Σανιται —οπου εστιν η παρεμβολη Αψαρος. p. 34. Both terms relate to the Sun, styled Sal, and Sol; Zan, and Zon. The Amazons lived between the Thermodon and the river Apsarus.

[35] Lycoph. v. 77.

afterwards entered into a truce: and they could shew the tombs of those Amazons, who fell in the dispute. The place was named Amazoneum: and there was an antient pillar near it, said to have been erected by this people. The history given is circumstantial, yet abounds with inconsistencies; and is by no writer uniformly related. Such a people as the Amazonians had certainly been in Attica: the Athenians, as well as the Bœotians, were in great measure descended from them. Plutarch from the names of places, which had a reference to the Amazonian history, tries to shew the certainty of this invasion, and of the circumstances, with which it was said to have been attended. For there was a building named [36] Horcomosium, which he supposes to have been the place of truce: and he mentions sacrifices, which used there to be offered to the Amazons. But there is nothing in these arguments, which proves the point in question. The name of the place, if it be genuine, may relate to an oath; but it does not necessarily follow, that the Amazons here entered into a treaty; nor do the

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[36] Αλλα τυγε τον πολιμον εις σπονδας τελευτησαι μαρτυριον εστι ητε τε τοπε κλησις το παρα το Θησειον, ὁν πιρ Ὁρκωμοσιον καλεσιν, ητε γενεμενη παλαι θυσια τοις Αμαζοσι προ των Θησειων. Theseus. vol. 1. p. 13. Orchom-ous, like Asterous, Ampelous, Maurous, Amathous, Achorous, signifies a place sacred to Or-Chom. He was the Orchamus of the east: and the same personage from whom the cities called Orchomenos had their name.

rites established at all shew, that they were in a state of hostility with the [37] Athenians. The rites consisted originally in offerings made to the Deity, from whom the Amazons received their name. He was called Azon, and Amazon, the same as Ares, the Sun. They worshipped both Ares and Harmon; which the Grecians changed to a feminine Harmonia: and the Amazons, in consequence of this worship, were said to be the offspring of these Deities.

[38] Δη γαρ και γενεην εσαν Αρεος Ἁρμονιης τε.

By γενεη Αρεος και Αρμονιης is meant the children of the Sun and Moon. Hence it is, that the wife of Cadmus was said to be Harmonia; for the Cadmians were certainly Amazonians.

After the Grecians had supposed, that these female warriors invaded their country, and were repulsed, they were at a loss to account whither they

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[37] By Plato they are said to have been conducted by Eumolpus. Ευμολπω μεν ουν και Αμαζονων επιστρατευσαντων επι την χωραν. Menexenus. vol. 2. p. 239. He introduced hymns, and sacrifices, and the mysteries at Eleusis. This could not be the work of an enemy in a state of war.

[38] Apollon. Argonaut. l. 2. v. 992.

Har-Mon is Dominus Lunus. Hara Mona, from whence came Ἁρμονια, Domina Luna. The Cadmians were certainly Amazonians; but their antient name by length of time was effaced.

afterwards withdrew. Some have given out, that they retreated into Magna [39] Græcia, where they founded the city [40] Cleite: and Isocrates so far agrees, as to acknowledge, that none of them returned to their own [41] country. But Lysias goes farther, and says, [42] that their nation was wholly ruined by this expedition: that they lost their territories, and were never more heard of. Upon all which [43] Plutarch observes, *that we must not wonder, when transactions are of such antiquity, if history should prove contradictory and obscure.* The Amazons were supposed to have always fought on horseback; and they were thus described by Micon in the Poicile at [44] Athens. Yet it is certain, that the use of cavalry in war was not known in Greece till long after this æra: and, if we may

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[39] Επεστρατευσαν δε αυται τη Αττικη, και νικηθεισαι υπεχωρησαν εις Ιταλιαν. Scholia in Lycoph. v. 1332.

[40] Κλειτη.—μια των Αμαζονων πολις εκτισε. Etymolog. Mag.

[41] Λεγεται μεν ουν περι των Αμαζονων, ως των μεν ελθουσων ευδημια φασιν απηλθεν Αι δε υπολειφθεισαι δια την εισοδε συμφοραν εκ της αρχης εξεβληθησαν. In Panegyr. p. 93.

[42] Εκεινοι μεν ουν της αλλοτριας αδικως επιθυμησασαι την αυτων δικαιως απωλεσαν.

Την εαυτων πατριδα δια την εισοδε συμφοραν ανωνυμον κατεστησαν. Lysias. Funeb. Orat. τοις Κορινθιων Βοηθοις.

[43] Θαυμαστον ουκ εστιν επι πραγμασιν ουτω παλαιοις πλανασθαι την ιστοριαν. Plutarch in Thesco. p. 13.

[44] Τας δε Αμαζονας σκοπει, ας Μικων εγραψεν επι ιππων μαχομενας. Aristophanis Lysistrata. v. 680.

credit Homer, the Asiatic nations at the siege of Troy were equally unacquainted with this advantage. The strongest argument for this invasion of the Amazons, and their defeat, was the tombs of those, who were slain. These are mentioned by many writers. But the Grecians had likewise the tomb of Dionusus, of Deucalion, of Orion; and the tombs of other persons, who never existed: all which were in reality high altars, raised in antient days. The whole of this history relates to old rites and customs, and not to any warlike expedition. They likewise shewed a pillar, called Amazoneum, which was supposed to have been denominated from this [45] people. But we can only infer from it, that such people were once in the country, and probably erected it. This was the express object to which the Amazonians paid their adoration; as they lived in an age, when statues were not known. Such a one the Argonauts are said to have found in the temple of Arez, when they landed upon the coast of Pontus; and made their offerings to the Deity.

[46] Πάσσυδιη δ' ηπειτα κιον μετα νηον Αρηος
Μηλ' ἱερευσαμενοι, περι δ' εσχαρη εστησαντο

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[45] Πλησιον ωκει των πυλων προς τη Αμαζονιδι πυλη. Plato in Axiocho. v. 3. p. 365.

[46] Apollon. Argon. l. 2. v. 1174.

Εσσυμένως, ἠ τ' ἐκτὸς ἀνήρεφεος τέλε νηὸς
Στιαων· εἰσω δε μελας ΛΙΘΟΣ ηρηρειστο
Ἱερος, ᾧ ποτε πασαι ΑΜΑΖΟΝΕΣ ευχετοωντο.

Now to the grove of Arez they repair,
And while the victims bleed, they take their stand
Around the glowing altar, full in front
Of a fair temple. Here of ebon hue
Rises in air a lofty antique stone.
Before it all of Amazonian name
Bow low, and make their vows.

That the tombs spoken of were high altars is evident from their situation: for how could they otherwise be found in the middle of the [47] city: and in so many different places. There was an Amazonian monument at [48] Megara: and tombs of Amazons near [49] Chæronea upon a river named Thermodon. The like were shewn in Thessaly near [50] Scotussæa, and Cunoscephale: all which were supposed to have been places of burials, where Amazons had been slain. To these might be added monuments of the

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[47] Plutarch in Theseo. p. 13. Εν αστει κατεστρεψιδιωσαν. p. 12. Εν τη πολει. Ibid.

[48] Ibid. p. 13.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid. Called by Plutarch Σκοτουσσαια. By some it is expressed Scotussa.

same nature in [51] Ionia: and others in [52] Mauritania; all misconstrued, and supposed to have been tombs of female warriors. In respect to those at Athens, the place where they were erected (εν αστει, *within the walls of the* [53] *city,*) and the sacrifices there offered, shew that they could not relate to enemies; but were the work of people, who had there [54] settled. The river Thermodon, which was also called Αιμων, in Thessaly, could not have received its name from a transient march of Amazons; but must have been so called from people of that family, who resided in those parts. Every circumstance of this supposed invasion is attended with some absurdity. It was owing, we are told, to the injustice of Hercules, who stole the girdle of Hippolyte; and attacked the nation, of which she was queen, so as to quite [55] ruin it. The Amazons having been thus cruelly defeated and weakened; and not being able to withstand their next [56] neighbours, resolved to

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[51] Σημα Μυρινης. Homer. Iliad. B. v. 813.

[52] Diodorus Sic. l. 3. p. 188.

[53] They were, according to Plutarch, supposed to have fought περι την Πνυκα και το Μουσειον. The place called Πνυξ was close to the Acropolis. Πνυξ δε ην χωριον περι την Ακροπολιν. Jul. Pollux. l. 8. c. 10. p. 957.

[54] Plutarch in Theseo. p. 13.

[55] Το εθνος τουτο τελειως συντριψαι. Diodor. Sic. l. 2. p. 129.

[56] —διοπερ τας περιοικουντας βαρεαρες της μεν ασθενειας αυτων καταφρονησαντας, κλ. Diod. l. 4. p. 229. He mentions παντελως τι εθνος αυτων συντριβηναι.

wage war with the Greeks, and particularly with Theseus of Athens. They accordingly began their march, being fully resolved to make reprisals. In this disposition of mind, one would imagine that they took the direct way to Greece: but it was far otherwise. The rout, by which they are supposed to have gone, was quite the reverse of the path, which led to Greece. Every step was in a contrary direction. To arrive at the south-west they passed north-east; and ranging round the whole Euxine Sea, by Mount Caucasus and Colchis, to the [57] Cimmerian Bosporus; and having passed many hills and many rivers; among which were the Phasis, the Tanais, the Boristhenes, the [58] Ister, the Hebrus, they at last arrive at Athens. Here they pitch their camp, εν ἀςει, within the precincts of the city, and close to the Acropolis. They then fight a severe battle, and are obliged to retire: and not being able to return home, they are dissipated, and dwindle to nothing. Lysias says, [59] την ἑαυτων πατριδα δια την συμφορην ανωνυμον εποιησαν. *They by this miscarriage ruined their country: so that their very*

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[57] Ελλανικος δε ὁ Λεσβιος φησιν, ὁτι παγεντος τυ Κυμμερικυ Βοσπορυ διεβησαν αυτον (ὰι Αμαζονες) και ηλθον εις Αττικην. Scholia in Lycophron. v. 1332.

[58] Ποινας αθελκτυς ἁρπαγης διζημεναι
Ὑπερ πελαινον Ἱςρον ηλασαν Σκυθας
Ἱππυς. Lycoph. v. 1336.

[59] Orat. Funeb. τοις Κορινθιων Βοηθοις.

name became extinct. Here then one would imagine, that this female history would conclude. No: they are introduced again by the [60] poets at the siege of Troy: and are to be met with in the wars of [61] Cyrus. Some ages after, in the time of Alexander an interview is [62] mentioned to have passed, wherein the queen of the Amazons makes proposals to that monarch about sharing for a night or two his bed. And even in the time of Pompeius Magnus, during the Mithridatic war, they are supposed to exist: for after a victory gained by that general, the Roman soldiers are said to have found many boots and buskins, which Dion Cassius thinks were undoubtedly [63] Amazonian.

Such was the credulity of the antients about one of the most improbable stories that ever was feigned. Strabo had the sense to give it up: and Plutarch, after all the evidence collected, and a visible prepossession in favour of the legend; nay, after a full assent given, is obliged in a manner to forego it, and to allow it to be a forgery. For he at last confesses, that [64] *the whole, which the author of the*

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[60] Homer, Virgil, Quintus Calaber, &c.

[61] Diodorus. l. 2. p. 128. Polyænus Strateg. l. 8. p. 619.

[62] Cleitarchus apud Strabonem. l. 11. p. 771. See also Diodorus Sic. l. 17. p. 549. Alexander is said to have had some of them in his pay. Arrian. l. 7. p. 292.

[63] In Bello Mithridatico.

[64] Plutarch in Theseo. p. 13. περιφανως εοικε μυθῳ και πλασματι.

Theseïs wrote, about the invasion of the Amazons, and of Antiope's attack upon Theseus, who had carried off Phædra, and of her associates supporting her; also of those Amazons, whom Hercules slew, seemed manifestly a romance and fiction.

From what has been said, I think it is plain, that the Amazonians were a manifold people, and denominated from their worship. They were some of the Titanic race, who settled in Colchis, Ionia, Hellas, and upon the Atlantic in Mauritania. They were also to be found in other parts, and their family characteristic may in all places be seen. They were the same as the Cadmians; and the structures, which bore their name, were not erected to them, but were the work of their own hands. Such was the building called Amazoneum. [65] Αμαζονειον Ισαιος διειλεκται εν τω προς Διοκλεα περι των Αμαζονων αφιερωσεως Αθηνησιν· εστι δε ιερον, ὁ Αμαζονες ιδρυσαντο. They are the words of Harpocration. *Concerning the place called Amazoneum, Isæus says a great deal in his treatise to Diocles about the consecration of the Amazons at Athens. It was a temple, which of old was built by these Amazons.*

I have before taken notice of a passage in [66] Plato, wherein that writer mentions, that Eumolpus led the

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[65] Harpocration. The original Amazons were deities; and the people so called were their priests and votaries. Hence θυσια τοις Αμαζοσι in Plutarch. See Theseus. p. 13.

[66] Menexenus. vol. 2. p. 239.

Amazons, when they invaded Attica. This person is represented both as a Thracian, and as an Athenian; and sometimes as a foreigner from Egypt. Clemens of Alexandria speaks of his coming with the Eumolpidæ into Attica; and styles him the [67] Shepherd Eumolpus. He is supposed to have been the principal person who introduced the rites and mysteries, which were observed by the Athenians. His sons were the priests, who officiated at the temple of Ceres in Eleusis. The Eleusinian mysteries came from Egypt; and the persons, who brought them must have been of that [68] country. All these things prove, that what has been represented as a warlike expedition was merely the settling of a colony: and those, who had the conduct of it, were Amazonians, who have been represented as women. And so far is probable, that there were women among them, who officiated at the religious ceremonies, which were instituted. Something of this nature is intimated by the Scholiast upon Theocritus, who gives a short but curious account of the first Amazonian priestesses. [69] Καλλιμαχος φησι, της Βασιλισσης των Αμαζονων ησαν Θυγατερες· αι Πελειαδες

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[67] Ευμολπος ποιμην. Cohort. p. 17.
Eumolpus, Neptuni filius. Hyginus. Fab. 46.

[68] Τους μεν γαρ Ευμολπιδας απο την κατα Αιγυπτον Ιριων μεταπεμχθαι. Diodorus. l. 1. p. 25.

[69] Idyl. 13. v. 25.

προσηγορευθησαν. . Πρωται δε αυται χορειαν και παννυχιδα συνεστησαντο. *We learn from Callimdchus, that the queen of the Amazons had daughters, who were called Pelciades. These were they, by whom the sacred dance, and the night vigils were first instituted.* It has been before shewn, that the Peleiades, or Doves, were the female branch of the Iönim, by whom idolatry was first [70] introduced. And as they were at the same time Amazonians, it proves, that they were all the same people, under different [71] denominations; who chiefly came from Egypt, and where widely scattered over the face of the earth.

OF THE HYPERBOREANS.

ANOTHER name, by which the antients distinguished this people, was that of Hyperboreans. Under this appellation, we may obtain a farther insight into their history. They are placed, as many of the Cimmerians and Amazonians were, upon the Palus Mæotis, and Taniis; and in those regions, which lay near the Boristhenes, and Ister. But

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[70] Ιωνες—των Ελληνων αρχηγοι γεγοιοτες τοις ξοανοις προσεκυνουν. Euseb. Chron. p. 13.

[71] Titanians, Atlantians, Iönim, Amazonians, &c.

from a notion, that their name had a relation to the north, they have been extended upwards almost to the Cronian Sea. They were of the Titanic race, and called Sindi; a name, as I have shewn, common among the Cuthites. [72] Τους Υπερβορεους τα Τιτανικα γενος Φερενικος φησιν ειναι. *We learn from Pherenicus, that the Hyperboreans were of Titanic original.* [73] Των Μαιωτων δ' αυτοι τε οι Σινδοι. *The Sindi are one family of those, who live upon the Mæotis.* Strabo speaks of them as called among other names Sauromatæ. [74] Τους μεν υπερ τε Ευξεινε, και Ιστρε, και Αδριε, κατοικουντας Υπερβορεους ελεγον, και Σαυροματαις, και Αριμασπους. *Those, who live above the Euxine, Ister, and Adriatic, were formerly called Hyperboreans, and Sauromatæ, and Arimaspians.* The same by Herodotus are reckoned among the [75] Amazonians. They worshipped the Sun, whom they held in high honour; and they had Prutaneia, which

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[72] Scholia in Pind. Olymp. Od. 3. v. 28.

[73] Strabo l. 11. p. 757. Εν δε τη Σινδικη το Βασιλειον των Σινδων πλησιον θαλασσης.

Τοσσοι μεν ποταμοι Ταναιν περιναιεταουσι·
Σαυρομαται δ' επιχθονιν επασσυτεροι γεγαωτες
Σινδοι, Κιμμεριοι τε, και οι πελας Ευξεινοιο
Κερκετιοι τ', Ορειται τε, και αλκηεντες Αχαιοι.
Dionys. Περιηγ. v. 680.

[74] Strabo. l. 11. p. 774.

[75] L. 4. c. 10.

were styled, [76] Αιθρια, Aithria; where they preserved a perpetual fire. Like the people of Colchis, they carried on in early times a great trade; and the passage of the Thracian Bosporus, as well as of the Hellespont, being possessed by people of their family, gave them opportunities of prosecuting their navigation to a great distance. When the Hetrurian mariners have laid hands upon Bacchus, and are thinking, where they can sell him to the best advantage; the master of the ship mentions Cyprus, Egypt, and the country of the Hyperboreans, as the best marts in those days.

[77] Ελπομαι, η Αιγυπτον αφιξεται, η ογε Κυπρον,
Η ες Υπερβορεκς.

The people of Cyprus were of the same race, as the other nations, of which I have been speaking. [78] Εισι δε και οι Κυπριοι εκ των Κιττιαιων, και οι εν τω βορρα ομοφυλοι των αυτων Κιττιαιων. The meaning of this is, that the people of Cyprus were of Cuthean original, as were the people of the north, the Hyperboreans: they were all of the same race, all equally Cutheans. A colony of them settled in Crete, whose priests

[76] Κρατινος εν Δηλιασιν, Υπερβορειως Αιθρια τιμωντας σεφυ. Hesych. Αιθρια. They were also Atlantians: for we read of Atlas Hyperboreus. Apollodorus. l. 2. p. 102.

[77] Διονυσος η Λησαι. v. 28.

[78] Euseb. Chron. p. 12. l. 38.

were the antient Curetes, so denominated from their [79] temple, and service; and who were acknowledged to have been of Titanian race. *The Cretans*, says [80] Diodorus, *have traditions, that the Titanians came to their island in the time of the Curetes; and took possession of that part, which lay about Cnossus. Here to this day, they shew the ruins of the temple, where Rhea is supposed to have resided: and there is also a grove of Cyprus trees, which were planted in antient times.* By the same rout they came to Eubœa, and other parts of Greece; and were supposed to have been conducted by [81] Cothus and Archlys, the sons of Xuth; and by Iön and Hellen, sons of the same personage. They also passed up to Thrace, and to Phrygia; hence Anchises, tells Æneas, that the Trojans were originally from Crete.

[82] Creta Jovis magni medio jacet insula ponto,
Mons Idæus ubi, et gentis cunabula nostræ.'

The Hyperboreans upon the Euxine at one time seem to have kept up a correspondence with those

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[79] Kir-Ait, Templum Solis. Osiris was called Ait-Osiris. Herodotus. l. 4. c. 59.

[80] Diodorus Sic. l. 5. p. 334.

[81] Κοθος και Αρχλος, οι Ξυθου παιδες, εις Ευβοιαν ηκον οικησοντες. Plut. Quæstion. Græcæ. p. 296.

[82] Æneid. l. 3. v. 104.

of the Titanian race in most countries. But of all others, they seem to have respected most the people of Delos. To this island they used to send continually mystic presents, which were greatly reverenced. In consequence of this the Delians knew more of their history than any other community of [83] Greece. Callimachus, in his hymn to Delos, takes notice both of the Hyperboreans, and their offerings; and speaks of them as a people of high antiquity.

[84] —Και οἱ καθυπερθε Βορειης
Οικια θινος εχυσι, πολυχρονιωτατον αἱμα.
Οἱ μεντοι καλαμην τε, και ἱερα δραγματα πρωτοι
Ασαχυων φορεεσι.

Plutarch likewise mentions, that they used to come to Delos with flutes, and harps, and other instruments of music; and in this manner present their [85] offerings. Their gifts were emblematical; and consisted of large handfuls of corn in the ear, called αμαλλαι, which were received with much reverence.

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[83] Πολλῳ δη πλειστα φιλει αυτεων Δηλιοι λεγεσιν. Herod. l. 4. c. 33.

[84] V. 281.

[85] Και τα εξ Υπερβορεων ἱερα μετ' αυλων και συριγγων, και κιθαρας εις την Δηλον φασι το παλαιον τελλεσθαι. Plutarch de Musicâ. vol. 2. p. 1136.

Porphyry says, that no offerings were looked upon with greater veneration than these of the Hyperboreans. He styles them presents, and [86] ὑπομνηματα, *memorials*; for they were symbolical, and consisted of various things, which were inclosed in sheaves, or handfuls of [87] corn. This people were esteemed very sacred: and it is said, that Apollo, when he was exiled from Heaven, and had seen his offspring slain, retired to their country. It seems, he wept; and there was a tradition, that every tear was amber.

[88] Κελτοι δ' επι βαξιν εθεντο.
Ὡς αρ' Απολλωνος ταδε δακρυα Λητοϊδαο
Εμφερεται δινaις, ἁτε μυρια χευε παροιθεν,
Ημος Ὑπερβορεων ἱερον γενος ισαφικανεν
Ουρανον αγληεντα λιπων.

The Celtic sages a tradition hold,
That every drop of amber was a tear,
Shed by Apollo, when he fled from heaven.
For sorely did he weep; and sorrowing pass'd

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[86] Σεμνα δε ην των παρ' ὑπομνηματα εν Δηλῳ εξ Ὑπερβορεων Αμαλλοφορων. Porph. de Abstinentiâ. l. 2. p. 154.

[87] Ιερα ενδεδεμενα εν καλαμῃ πυρων. Herod. l. 4. c. 33.

[88] Apollon. Argonaut. l. 4. v. 611. Tertius (Apollo) Jove tertio natus et Latonâ, quem ex Hyperboreis Delphos ferunt advenisse. Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 3.

Through many a doleful region, till he reach'd
The sacred Hyperboreans.

In like manner it is said of Perseus, that he went to the [89] Hyperboreans: and Hercules also made a visit to this people:

[90] Δαμον Ὑπερβορεὼν ωεισας, Απολλωνος θεραποντα.

His purpose was to obtain a branch of the wild olive, which grew in the grove of the Deity. They are sometimes represented as [91] Arimaspians; and their chief priestesses were named [92] Oupis, Loxo, and Hecaërge; by whom the Hyperborean rites are said to have been brought to Delos. They never returned, but took up their residence, and officiated in the island. People from the same quarter are said to come to Delphi in Phocis; and to have found

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[89] Pind. Pyth. Od. 10. v. 47.

[90] Ibid. Olymp. Od. 3. v. 28.

[91] Αριμασποι εθνος Ὑπερβοριων. Steph. Byz.

[92] Πρωται τοι ταδ' ενεικαν απο ξανθων Αριμασπων
Ουπις τε, Λοξω τε, και ευαιων Εκαεργη,
Θυγατερες Βορεαο—κ τ λ.
Callim. Hymn. in Delon. v. 291.

See Pausanias. l. 5. p. 392. Quidam dicunt Opin et Hecaërgen primas ex Hyperboreis sacra in insulam Delon occultata in fascibus mergitum pertulisse. Servius in Virg. Æneid. l. 11. v. 522. See Pliny. l. 4. c. 12.

out the oracular seat of Apollo. Pausanias produces for this the evidence of the antient priestess Bæo. She makes mention of Olen the Hyperborean, as the first prophet of Delphi: and further says, that the first temple of the Deity was founded by him in conjunction with Pagasus and Agyieus.

[93] Ενθα τοι ευμνηστον χρηστηριον εκτελεσαντο·
Παιδες Υπερβορεων Παγασος και διος Αγυιευς,

επι τελευτη τε υμνου τον Ωλενα ονομασεν.

Ωλην δ' ος γενετο πρωτος Φοιβοιο προφατας,
Πρωτος δ' αρχαιων επεων τεκτηνατ' αοιδαν.

By other writers Olen is said to have been from Lycia. [94] Ωλην τας παλαιας ὑμνας εποιησεν εκ Λυκιης ελθων, τας αειδομενας εν Δηλῳ. *Olen, who came from Lycia, was the author of those antient hymns, which are sung at Delos.* The word Olen, was properly an Egyptian sacred term; and expressed Olen, Olinus, Ailinus, and Linus; but is of unknown meaning. We read of Olenium Sidus; Olenia Capella, and the like.

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[93] Pausanias. l. 10. p. 809.

[94] Herod. l. 4. c. 35. He is by Pausanias himself mentioned as a Lycian. Λυκιος δε Ωλην, ος και τας ὑμνους τους αρχαιοτατους εποιησε Ελλησιν. l. 9. p. 762.

[95] Ωλενιην δε μιν αιγα Διος καλεσσ' ὑποφηται.

If then this Olen, styled an Hyperborean, came from [96] Lycia and Egypt, it makes me persuaded, of what I have often suspected, that the term *Hyperborean* is not of that purport, which the Grecians have assigned to it. There were people of this family in the north; and the name has been distorted and adapted solely to people of those parts. But there were Hyperboreans from the east, as we find in the history of Olen. And when it is said of Delos, that the first rites were there instituted by this people; and that they founded the temple at Delphi: we must not suppose, that these things were performed by natives from the Tanaïs, and the Riphean hills; much less from the Cronian seas, upon whose shores some people would place them. People of this name and family not only came to Greece, but to Italy: and extended even to the Alpes. [97] The Mons Palatinus at Rome was

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[95] Arati Phœnom. v. 164.

Inscitur Oleniæ sidus pluviale Capellæ. Ovid. Fast. l. 5. v. 113.

A sacred stone in Elis was called Petra Olenia. Pausan. l. 6. p. 54.

[96] Ωλην, αιης Λυκιος. Herod. l. 4. c. 35.

Ωλην Λυκιος. Pausan. l. 5. p. 392.

Ωλην Ὑπερβορεος. Ibid. l. 10. p. 810.

[97] Ὑπερβοριους οικειν περι τας Αλπεις της Ιταλιας. Scholia in Apollon. Argonaut. l. 2. v. 677. Here were some remarkable Cu-

supposed to have been occupied by Hyperboreans; and the antient Latines were descended from them. Dionysius Halicarnassensis tells us,[98] *that Latinus was the son of Hercules by an Hyperborean woman.* By this is meant, that the people of Latium were an Herculean and Hyperborean colony. Those who occupied the Mons[99] Palatinus, are supposed to have been also Atlantians, and[100] Arcadians; by the latter term is denoted people, whom I have distinguished by the name of Arkites. The Hyperboreans, who came to Delos, were devoted to this worship. Herodotus mentions two of their priestesses, whom

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thean settlements. Τουτων δ' εστι και ἡ Ιδιονυσ λεγομενη γη, και ἡ Κοττιδ. Strabo. l. 4. p. 312.

[98] Λατινον δ' εκ τινος Ὑπερβορειδος κορης. l. 1. p. 34.

Eusebius makes the Citeans of Cyprus, and the Romans equally of Hyperborean original. Εισι δε και οἱ Κυπριοι εκ των Κιττιαιων, και οἱ εν τῳ βορρᾳ ὁμοφυλοι των αυτων Κιττιαιων, και των Ρωμαιων. Chron. p. 12. l. 38.

[99] It had its name a Palanto Hyperborei filiâ. Festus apud Auctores Ling. Lat. p. 355.

[100] They were supposed to have come with Evander.

Tum rex Evander Romanæ conditor arcis.
Virg. Æneïd. l. 8. v. 313.

Vobis Mercurius pater est, quem candida Maia
Cyllenes gelido conceptum vertice fudit:
At Maiam, auditis si quicquam credimus, Atlas,
Idem Atlas generat, Cœli qui sidera tollit.
Virg. Æneïd. l. 8. v. 138.

[1] L. 4. c. 34. and 35.

he calls Opis and Arge. They built the chief temple in that island, and planted the olive. They also constructed a sacred θηκη, or chest, on account of ωκυτοκια, a speedy delivery. As they were virgins, this circumstance did not relate to themselves, but to a mysterious [2] rite. In the celebrating of the mysteries, they held handfuls of corn; and had their heads shorn after the manner of the Egyptians. The like rites were practised by the Pæonians and people of [3] Thrace.

It would be unnatural to suppose, that these rites, and these colonies came all from the north: as it is contrary to the progress of nations, and repugnant to the history of first ages. A correspondence was kept up, and an intercourse maintained between these nations: but they came from Egypt and the east. There must have been something mysterious in the term [4] Hyperborean: it must have had a latent meaning which related to the science and religion of the people so called. Pythagoras, who had been in Egypt, and Chaldea, and who afterwards settled at Croton, was by the natives

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[2] By the name Arge is signified θηκη, *a sacred chest, or ark.*

[3] Herodot. c. 33.

[4] Herodotus supposes people to have had this name παρ' οις ὁ Βορεας ὁ πνις. Writers give different reasons for the name, all equally unsatisfactory.

styled the [5] Hyperborean Apollo. And though some of this name were of the north, yet there were others in different parts of the world, who had no relation to that clime. Pindar manifestly makes them the same as the Atlantians, and Amazonians of Afric: for he places them near the Islands of the Blest, which were supposed to have been opposite to Mauritania. He speaks of them as a divine race; and says, that Perseus made them a visit, after that he had slain the Gorgon. At the same time he celebrates their rites, and way of life, together with their hymns and dances, and variety of music: all which he describes in a measure exquisitely fine.

[6] Μοισα δ' ουκ αποδαμει
Τροποις επι σφετεροισι· παν-
τα δε χοροι Παρθενων,
Λυραν τε βοαι, καναχαι δ' αυλων δονεονται.
Δαφνᾳ δε χρυσεᾳ κο-
μας αναδησαντες, ειλα-
πινεσσιν ευφρονως.
Νοσοι δ', ουδε γηρας ουλομενον
Κεκραται ἱερᾳ γενεᾳ· πονων
Δε, και μαχαν, ατερ
Οικεοισι, φυγοντες
Υπερδικον Νεμεσιν.

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[5] Αριστοτελης λεγει, τον Πυθαγοραν υπο των Κροτωνιατων τον Απολλωνα Υπερβορειον προσαγορευεσθαι. Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 2. c. 26.

[6] Pindar. Pyth. Od. 10. v. 57.

Pleas'd with the blameless tenor of their lives,
The Muse here fix'd her station.
Hence all around appears
A lovely scene of virgin choirs.
In every grove
The lyre is heard responsive to the lyre;
While the shrill pipe conspires
In a pleasing din of harmony.
The natives revel in delight,
Their heads bedeck'd with laurel; and their hair
Braided with gold.
They feel not age, nor anguish:
But are free from pain;
Free too from toil,
And from every evil, that ensues from war.
The frowns of Nemesis reach not here:
But joy abounds,
Joy pure, and unimpaired,
In a continual round.

The northern Hyperboreans, who were the same as the Cimmerians, were once held in great repute for their knowledge. Anacharsis was of this family; who came into Greece, and was much admired for his philosophy. There was also an Hyperborean of great fame, called [7] Abaris, who is mentioned

[7] See Euseb. Chron. Versio Lat. p. 32. Strabo. l. 7. p. 461.

by [8] Herodotus. He was the son of Zeuth, styled Seuthes: and is represented as very knowing in the art of divination, and gifted with supernatural powers. Apollo is said to have lent him a golden arrow, upon which he was wafted through the air, and visited all the regions in the [9] world. He neither eat, nor drank; but went over the earth, uttering oracles, and presaging to nations, what was to come. This seems to be an imaginary character; and probably relates to the various migrations of the sons of Chus, and the introduction of their religion into different parts of the world. All the Ethiopic race were great archers. Their name was sometimes expressed Cushitæ; and the antient name of a bow was Cushet; which it probably obtained from this people, by whom it was invented. There is reason to think, that by their skill in this weapon they established themselves in many parts, where they settled. This may possibly be alluded to in the arrow of *Abaris*, the implement of [10] *passage;* by which he made his way through the world.

They were people of the same family, who settled in Thrace under the name of Scythæ; also of Sithones, Pæonians, Pierians, and Edonians. They

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[8] L. 4. c. 36. Strabo. l. 7. p. 461.

[9] In like manner Musæus of Thrace is said to have had the art of flying; which was Βορεω δωρον. Pausan. l. 1. p. 53.

[10] בנה עברה. קשת עברה

particularly worshipped the first planter of the vine under the known title of Dionusus, and also of Zeus [11] Sabazius. They had also rites, which they called Cotyttia from the Deity Cotys; and others named Metroa, and Sabazia, which were celebrated in a most frantic manner by the Edoni upon Mount Hæmus. The Deity was also called [12] Sabos, which term, as well as the title Sabazius, was derived from סבא, Saba, wine. Hence amid all their exclamations the words, Ευοι Σαβοι, Evoe Sabæ, were to be particularly distinguished. He was worshipped in the same manner by the [13] Phrygians, who carried on the same rites and with the like shouting and wild gestures upon Mount Ida. The priests also were called Sabi; and this name seems to have prevailed both in [14] Phrygia and in [15] Thrace.

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[11] Της μεν Κοτυος της εν τοις Ηδωναις Αισχυλος μιμηται. Strabo. L. 10. p. 721.

Σεμνα Κοτυς εν τοις Ηδωνοις. Æsch. ibid.

Ευοι Σαβοι, Υης Αττης και Αττης Υης. Ταυτα γαρ εστι Σαβαζια, και Μητρωα. Ibid. p. 723.

[12] Σαβαζιος, επωνυμον Διονυσου· και Σαβον ενιοτε καλουσιν αυτον. Hesych.

[13] Και ὁ Σαβαζιος δε των Φρυγιακων εστι. Strabo. L. 10. p. 721.

[14] Σαβοι, εθνος Φρυγιας· λεγονται και αυτι τω Βακχοι Σαβοι. Steph. Byz.

[15] Σαβαζιον τον Διονυσον οι Θρακες καλουσι, και Σαβους τους Ιερεις αυτω. Schol. in Aristoph. Vesp. v. 9.

Some of this family are to be found in Thessaly, particularly in Magnesia and Pthiotis. A large body came into Italy: some of whom occupied the fine region of Campania, and went under the name of [16] Cimmerians. It has been the opinion of learned men, that they were so called from כמר, Cimmer, Darkness. This may possibly have been the etymology of their name: though most nations, as far as I have been able to get any insight, seem to have been denominated from their worship and Gods. Thus much however is certain, that this people had in many places subterranean apartments, where their priests and recluses dwelt; and were supposed to be consigned to darkness; all which favours the opinion above mentioned. Ulysses, in Homer, speaks of his arrival in the country of the Cimmerians, whom he describes as in a most uncomfortable situation, and places at the extremities of the ocean.

[17] Ἡ δ' ες πειραθ' ἱκανε βαθυῤῥοα ωκεανοιο. (sc. ναυς)
Ενθα δε Κιμμεριων ανδρων δημος τε, πολις τε,
Ηερι και νεφελῃ κεκαλυμμενη, ουδε ποτ' αυτας
Ηελιος Φαεθων επιδερκεται ακτινεσσιν.
Ουδ' οποτ' αν σειχῃσι προς ουρανον ἀστεροεντα,
Ουδ' οταν αψ επι γαιαν απ' ουρανοθεν πτροτραπηται,
Αλλ' επι νυξ ολοη τεταται δειλοισι βροτοισι.

[16] Strabo L. 5. p. 374.
[17] Odyss. Λ. v. 13.

Now the dark bounds of ocean we explore,
And reach at length a melancholy shore:
Where lost in cloud, and ever-during shade,
His seat of old the sad Cimmerian made.
The sun may rise, or downward seek the main;
His course of glory varying; but in vain:
No pleasing change does morn or evening bring;
Here Night for ever broods, and spreads her sable wing.

I imagine, that many temples of old, and especially the celebrated Labyrinths, were constructed in this manner. Four of these are mentioned by [18] Pliny: of which the most famous was in Egypt, and from this the others were copied. That in Crete is described by [19] Eustathius, as a deep cavern, which went far under ground, and had innumerable windings. Virgil speaks of it as a fine piece of architecture, and executed with great skill.

[20] Ut quondam Cretâ fertur Labyrinthus in altâ
Parietibus textum cæcis iter, ancipitemque
Mille viis habuisse dolum, quo signa sequendi
Falleret indeprensus, et irremeabilis error.

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[18] L. 5. c. 9. p. 258. L. 36. c. 13. p. 739.

[19] Λαβύρινθος, σπηλαίον Κρητικον, ὑπογειον, πολυτελικτον. In Odyss. Λ. v. 14.

[20] Æneid. l. 5. v. 588.

About Caieta, were some vast caverns near the summit of the promontory. *Here,* says [21] Strabo, *are to be seen huge apertures in the rock; so large, as to be able to afford room for noble and extensive habitations.* Several apartments of this kind were about Cuma, and Parthenope, and near the lake Acherusia in Campania. The same author speaks of this part of Italy, and says, that it was inclosed with vast woods, held of old in great veneration; because in those they sacrificed to the manes. According to Ephorus, the Cimmerians dwelt here, and resided in subterranean apartments, called [22] Argilla, which had a communication with one another. Those, who applied to the oracle of the cavern, were led by these dark passages to the place of consultation. Within the precincts were to be found all the requisites for an oracle: dark groves, foul streams, and fœtid exhalations; and above all a vast and dreary cave. It was properly a temple, and formed by the Cimmerians, and Herculeans, who settled in these [23] parts. Here was said to have been the ha-

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[21] Strabo. l. 5. p. 357. p. 374. Pliny. l. 3. c. 5. p. 153.

[22] We may perceive, that the rites in all these places had a reference to the same object of veneration, the Argo.

[23] Lycophron enumerates most of those antient places upon the coast of Italy.

Τυρσιν μακεδνας αμφι Κιρκαιας ναπας,
Αεγυς τε κλειτον ὀχμον, Αιητην μεγαν,
Λιμνης τε Φορκης, Μαρσιωνιδος πετα,

bitation of [24] the Erythrean Sibyl, who came from Babylonia. Places of this nature were generally situated near the sea, that they might more easily be consulted by mariners, whom chance brought upon the coast. On this account Virgil makes his hero apply to the priestess of Cuma for advice.

[25] At pius Æneas arces, quibus altus Apollo
Præsidet, horrendæque procul secreta Sibyllæ
Antrum immane petit.

There was a temple near it, built as was said by Dædalus; with a description in carved work upon the entablature, representing the Labyrinth in Crete, and the story of Pasiphaë.

[26] Hic labor ille domus, et inextricabilis error.
Magnum reginæ sed enim miseratus amorem
Dædalus, ipse dolos tecti, ambagesque resolvit;
Cæca regens filo vestigia.

This description relates to the temple above ground; but the oracle was in a cavern beneath, which had

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Τιτωνιον τε χευμα, τε κατα χθονος
Δυοντος εις αφαντα κευθμωνος βαθη,
Ζωστηρι τε κλιτυν, ενθα παζθενε
Στυγιον Σιβυλλης εστιν οικητηριον. V. 1273.

[24] Justin. Mart. Cohort. p. 38.
[25] Æneid. l. 6. v. 9.
[26] Ibid. v. 37.

been formed by the Cimmerians into numberless apartments.

[26] Excisum Euboïcæ latus ingens rupis in antrum,
Quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum,
Unde ruunt totidem voces, responsa Sibyllæ.

The poet has used some embellishments; but the history was founded in truth. A place of this nature upon the same coast, and at no great distance from Tarracine, remained in the time of the emperor Tiberius. It was for its elegance styled Spelunca Villa: and was situated in such a manner as to have a fine view of the sea. Tiberius had upon a time retired to this place, and was taking a repast; when part of the rock fell in, and killed some of his attendants. But the emperor escaped through the vigilance of his favourite Sejanus: who ran under the part, which was tumbling; and at the hazard of his life supported it, till he saw his friend [28] secure. The [29] Syringes near Thebes in Upper Egypt were a work of great antiquity, and consisted

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[27] Æneid. l. 6. v. 42.

[28] Vescebatur in Villâ, cui nomen Speluncæ, mare Amuclanum inter, Fundanosque montes, nativo in specu. Ejus os, lapsis repente saxis, obruit quosdam ministros, &c. Taciti Annalium. l. 4. p. 509.

[29] Marcellinus. l. 22. p. 263. There are many such to be still seen in Upper Egypt.

of many passages, which branched out, and led to variety of apartments. Some of them still remain, and travellers, who have visited them, say, that they are painted throughout with the most curious hieroglyphics, stained in the stone: and though they have been executed so many ages, yet the colours are still as strong and vivid, as if they had been but just tinctured. Josephus mentions vast subterranes in some of the hills in the part of Canaan called Galilee, and in Trachonitis; and says, that they extended far underground, and consisted of wonderful apartments. They were formed in due proportion, and not arched at the top, but vaulted with flat stones; and the sides were lined in the same manner: and by his account they could contain a great number of people. Such were the caverns at Gadara, Pteleon, and the [30] Spelunca Arbelorum. They at last became the receptacles of outlaws and banditti, who in large bodies used to shelter themselves within; on which account they were demolished. Mention has been made of large caverns and labyrinths near [31] Nauplia, and Hermione in Greece, said to have been the work of Cyclopians. They were probably in part natural, both here, and in the places taken notice of above: but they were

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[30] See Josephus. Antiq. l. 14. c. 15. and l. 15. c. 10.

[31] Εφιξης δε τη Ναυπλια τα σπηλαια, και οι εν αυτοις οικοδομητοι Λαζυριν θοι· Κυκλωπεια δ' ονομαζεσιν. Strabo. l. 8. p. 667.

enlarged by art; and undoubtedly designed for a religious purpose. They all related to the history of that person, who was principally commemorated under the title of Cronus. He is said to have had three [32] sons; and in a time of danger he formed a large cavern in the ocean: and in this he shut himself up together with these sons, and thus escaped the danger. The temple at Keira upon the Mæotis, whither the Titans retired, was a [33] cavern of the same nature as those above. It was probably in that grove, where stood the temple of Apollo: under which Pherenicus mentions, that the Hyperboreans resided: those Hyperboreans, who, he says, were of Titanic original.

[34] Αμφι Ϝ' Υπερβορεων, οι τ' εσχατα ναιεταασι
Ναῳ 'υπ' Απολλωνος, απειρητοι πολεμοιο.
Τες μεν αρα προτερων εξ 'αιματος 'υμνιζασι
Τιτανων βλαψοντας 'υπο δρομον αιθρηεντα
Ναυσασθαι Βορεαο γονην Αριμασπον ανακτα.

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[32] Εγεννηθησαν—Κρονῳ τρεις παιδες. Sanchon. apud Euseb. P. E. l. 1, c. 10. p. 37.

Ουτω και ὁ Κρονος εν τῳ ωκεανῳ αυτῳ αντρον κατεσκευαζει, κἀκρυπτει τους ἑαυτου παιδας. Porph. de Nymphar. Antro. p. 109.

Ωσαυτως και Δημητης εν αντρῳ τριφει την Κορην. Ibid.

Συμβολον Κοσμου τα σπηλαια. Ibid.

[33] Επι το σπηλαιον την Κειρην καλουμενην ιστρατευσατο (Κρασσος). Τουτο γαρ μεγιστον τε ἁμα και οχυρωτατον τε ὑτως ὀν, ὡς και τους Τιτανας εις αυτο μετα την ἡτταν την ὑπο των Θεων σφισι γενομενην συγκαταφυγειν μυθευεσθαι. Dion. Cassius. Hist. l. 51. p. 313.

[34] Scholia in Pind. Olymp. Od. 3. v. 28.

He sang also of the Hyperboreans, who live at the extremities of the world, under the temple of Apollo, far removed from the din of war. They are celebrated as being of the antient blood of the Titans: and were a colony placed in this wintry [35] *climate by the Arimaspian monarch, the son of Boreas.* One tribe of them is taken notice of by Pliny under the name of [36] Arimpheans. They seem to have been recluses, who retired to woods and wilds, that they might more strictly devote themselves to religion. They wore their hair very short, both men and women; and are represented as very harmless; so that they lived unmolested in the midst of many barbarous nations. They were addicted to great abstinence, feeding upon the fruits of the forest. In many of these circumstances they resembled the people, from whence they came. The same monastic way of life prevailed in [37] India among the Sarmanes and Allobii.

Those who settled in Sicily seem to have been a very powerful and knowing people: but those of

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[35] So I render δρομος αιθριης, cursus gelidus (scil. Boreæ), from αιθρος, frigus.

[36] Ibique Arimphæos quosdam accepimus, haud dissimilem Hyperboreis gentem. Sedes illis nemora, alimenta baccæ: capillus juxta fœminis virisque in probro existimatur, ritus clementes, itaque sacros haberi narrant, inviolatosque esse etiam feris accolarum populis. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 6. p. 310.

[37] Clemens Alex. Strom. l. 1. p. 359.

Hetruria were still far superior. At the time when they flourished, Europe was in a great measure barbarous: and their government was in a state of ruin, before learning had dawned in Greece: and long before the Romans had divested themselves of their natural ferity. Hence we can never have an history of this people, which will be found adequate to their merits. There is however a noble field, though not very obvious, to be traversed; which would afford ample room for a diligent inquirer to expatiate; and from whence he might collect evidence of great moment. In respect to Sicily, their coins alone are sufficient to shew how early they were acquainted with the arts; and from the same we may fairly judge of their great elegance and taste.

The two most distant colonies of this family westward were upon the Atlantic Ocean: the one in Europe to the north; the other opposite at the extreme part of Africa. The country of the latter was Mauritania; whose inhabitants were the [38] Atlantic Ethiopians. They looked upon themselves, as of the same family as the [39] Gods: and they were certainly

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[38] Diod. Sic. l. 3. p. 187. 188.

Prima ejus (Maris Atlantici) Æthiopes tenent. P. Mela. l. 3. c. 10.

[39] Οι τοινυν Ατλαντικοι—την γενεσιν των Θεων φασ' αυτοις γενεσθαι φασιν. Ibid. p. 189.

Προς δυσιν της Μαιρουσιας αι Κωτεις λεγομεναι. Places called Cotis. Strabo. l. 17. p. 1181.

See Vol. IV.

descended from some of the first deified mortals. Those who occupied the provinces of Iberia and Bætica, on the other side, went under the same [40] titles, and preserved the same histories, as those who have been mentioned before. I have shewn, that they were of Erythræan and Ethiopic race: and they gave name to the island [41] Erythra, which they occupied for the sake of trade. Here stood the city Gadara, said to be of high antiquity, and supposed to have been built by Arcaleus of Tyre. [42] Κλαυδιος Ιαλτιος εν ταις Φοινικης ἱστοριαις (φησι,) ὁτι Αρχαλευς ὑιος Φοινικος κτισας την πολιν, ωνομασε τη Φοινικων γραφη [43] Ταδορ. In the temple was neither statue, nor pillar, nor stone, by way of adoration, which shews, that it was built in very early times. The island was originally called Cotinusa, which name was after changed to Gadeira.

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[40] In universam Hispaniam Marcus Varro Iberos, et Persas, et Phœnicas, Celtasque, et Pœnos, pervenisse tradit. Pliny. l. 3, c. 1. p. 137.

[41] Scymnis Chius gives the following history of the island Erythia, or Erythrcia; and of Gadara, or Gades.

Προσεσπειρεις δ' Αιθιοπας οικητας εχειν
Λεγουσιν αυτην, γενομενης αποικιας.
Ταυτην συνεγγυς ὑπολαβουσα τυγχανει
Τυριων παλαιων εμπορων αποικια
Γαδειρα. Geog. Vet. Gr. vol. 2. p. 9. v. 156.

[42] Etymolog. Mag.

[43] So it should be read; not Γαδον. Gador is the same as גדר, and signifies an inclosed and fortified place.

[44] Και την μεν ναετηρες απο προτερων ανθρωπων
Κληζομενην Κοτινουσαν εφημιξαντο Γαδειρα.

Though it may have been some time, before they lapsed into the more gross idolatry, yet they seem to have been very early addicted to the rites of the Ark. Lycophron mentions people coming to this coast, whom he styles, [45] Αρνης παλαιας γεννα, *the offspring of antient Arne:* but he supposes, that they were Bœotians, and came from the vicinity of Theba in Greece. They were indeed Thebæans and Bœoti: but came from a different part of the world. Who was meant by Arne, may be known from the account given by the Scholiast: Αρνη Ποσειδωνος τροφος. Arne was the same as Arene, and we find, that she was esteemed *the fostermother of Poscidon.* She was at times styled Μαια Θεων, Μαια Διονυσου, Ποσειδωνος Τροφος, also Τιθηνη, Τοπος, and Μητηρ Θεων. Arcles, Arclus, and Arcalus, by which the Deity of the place was called, are all compounded of the same terms, Arca-El, sive Arca Dei. From hence the Grecians and Romans denominated a personage, whom they styled Heracles, and Hercules. But the original

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[44] Dionys. Περιηγ. v. 455.

[45] Και τοι μιν ακτας εμβατησονται λιπρας,
Ιζηροβοσκους, αγχι Ταρτησσου πυλης,
Αρνης παλαιας γεννα. V. 642.

was [46] Arclus, and Arcalus, and still more truly, without the termination, Arca-El. It was not a name, but a title: and was given by the Sidonians, and other people in the east, to the principal person preserved in the Deluge: and it signified the great Arcalean, or Arkite. Arcalus is the person, who was supposed to have been preserved in the body of a Cetus; and to have traversed the ocean in a golden Scyphus, which was given to him by [47] Apollo

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[46] This is the same person, who is joined with Cothus by Plutarch. Κοθος και Αρκλος, οι Ξυθε παιδες. See also Strabo. l. 10. p. 495.

[47] Θεος—χρυσεον εδωκε δεπας, εν ῳ τον ωκεανον διεπερασε. Apollodorus. l. 2. p. 100.

OF THEIR

KNOWLEDGE AND INGENUITY.

FROM what has preceded, we may perceive, that there once existed a great resemblance between these numerous colonies of the same family: and that it lasted for ages. I have mentioned, that they were famous at the woof; and carried the art of weaving to a great degree of excellence. This art was first practised at [1] Arach in Babylonia, and from thence carried to [2] other neighbouring cities; and in process of time to the most remote parts of the world. The people of Egypt were famous for this manufacture. It is said of king Solomon, that he had his fine flax from this [3] country. The prophet Ezekiel also mentions [4] *fine linen with embroidered work from Egypt:* and the same is alluded to in [5] Isaiah.

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[1] See the end of Vol. III.
[2] Strabo. l. 16. p. 1074.
[3] 1 Kings. c. 10. v. 28.
[4] C. 27. v. 7.
C. 19. v. 9. Pliny. l. 19. p. 156.

The linen of Colchis was called [6] Sardonic, just as the purple of Tyre was styled Sarra, and Sarrana: which terms alike betoken something noble and royal. It was also called Sindon, from the Sindi, and Sindones of the same country. The flax of [7] Campania, which had been introduced by the antient Herculeans and Cimmerians, was in equal repute: and the like is to be observed in Bætica, and other parts of Spain: where this commodity was particularly worn. The Indi were vested in the same manner, and were noted for this manufacture. Hence the poet Dionysius mentions [8] λινοχλαινας Αρχωτας, *the people of Archot with their linen robes.* Nor was it only the original texture, which was found out by people of this family; the dyeing, and also imprinting these commodities with a variety of colours and [9] figures, must also be attributed to the same. That wonderful art of managing silk, and likewise of working up cotton, was undoubtedly found out by the [10] Indo-Cuthites; and from them it was carried to the Seres. To them also is attri-

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[6] Herod. l. 2. c. 105. Λινον Κολχικον ὑπο Ἑλληνων Σαρδονικον καλεται. See also l. i. c. 203. Strabo. l. 11. p. 762.

[7] Pliny. vol. 2. l. 19. p. 155.

[8] Περιηγησ. v. 1096. (Indorum) alii lino vestiuntur, aut lanis. —Lanas sylvæ ferunt. P. Mela. l. 3. c. 7. We may perceive, that by lanæ the author means silk.

[9] Herod. l. 1. c. 203.

[10] See Mela above, and Strabo. l. 15. p. 1044.

buted the most rational and amusing game, called chess: and the names of the several pieces prove, that we received it from them. We are moreover indebted to them for the use of those cyphers, or figures, commonly termed Arabian: an invention of great consequence, by which the art of numeration has been wonderfully expedited, and improved. They are said to have written letters [11] εν σινδοσι: but whether by this was meant really linen; or whether we are to understand a kind of paper manufactured from it, is uncertain. Probably it was a composition from macerated silk: for paper of this kind was of old in use among them; and the art was adopted by other nations. It is however certain, that people sometimes did write upon silk itself. Symmachus takes notice [12] Sericis voluminibus, Achæmenio more, infundi literas, *of letters being stained upon silk, after the manner of the Persians.* But this, I imagine, was only done by the Achæmenidæ, the princes of the country.

Those who cultivated the grape brought it in many parts to the highest degree of perfection. The Mareotic wine is well known, which was produced in Scythia Ægyptiaca; and is represented as very powerful.

[11] Strabo. ibid.

[12] L. 4. Epist. 34.

[13] Hæc illa est, Pharios quæ fregit noxia reges,
Dum servata cavis notant Mareotica gemmis.

All the Ionian coast about Gaza in Palestine was famous for this commodity: as was the region near Sarepta, at the foot of Libanus. The wines of these parts are spoken of by Sidonius Apollinaris, and ranked with the best of Italian and Grecian growth.

[14] Vina mihi non sunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna,
Quæque Sareptano palmite missa bibas.

Above all, the wine of Chalybon in Syria is mentioned as of the highest repute. We learn from Strabo, that at one time it was entirely set apart for the use of the kings of [15] Persia. It is taken notice of by the prophet Ezekiel, when he is speaking of the wealth of Tyre. [16] *Damascus was thy merchant in the multitude of the wares of thy making; in the multitude of all riches, in the wine of* CHELBON, *and white wool.* Cyprus, Crete, Cos, Chios, and Lesbos, called Æthiope, were famous on the same account. There was also fine wine very early in

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[13] Gratii Cuneget. v. 312.
[14] Carm. 17. v. 15.
[15] L. 15. p. 1068.
[16] C. 27. v. 18.

Sicily about Tauromenium, in the country of the Læstrygons and Cyclopians.

[17] Και γαρ Κυκλωπεσσι φερει ζειδωρος αρουρα
Οινον εϋσταφυλον.

In Thrace were the Maronian wines, which grew upon Mount Ismarus, and are celebrated by [18] Homer, and by [19] Pliny. But no place was in more repute than Campania, where were the Formian and Falernian grapes. Some of very noble growth were to be found in Iberia and Mauritania. In the latter writers mention vines so ample, that they equalled the trees of the forest. [20] Strabo says, that their trunks could hardly be fathomed by two men: and that the clusters were a foot and a half in length. There was wine among the Indic Ethiopians, particularly in the country of the [21] Oxydracæ, who were supposed to be the descendents of Bacchus. They had also a strong drink made of [22] rice; which was particularly used at their sacrifices. In like manner

[17] Homer. Odyss. I. v. 357.

[18] Ibid. v. 196.

[19] L. 14. c. 16. p. 714.

[20] Αμπελος φυεται δυσιν ανδρασιν το παχος δυσπεριληπτος, βοτρυν πηχυαιον πως αποδιδουσα. l. 17. p. 1182.

[21] Strabo. l. 15. p. 1008.

[22] Ibid. p. 1035.

the people of Lusitania and Bætica made a fermented liquor called Zuth; the knowledge of which was borrowed from [23] Egypt. Hence they were supposed to have been instructed by Osiris. Hesychius calls it [24] wine, and says, that it was made of barley. It is also mentioned by Strabo. [25] Χρωνται δε και ζυθει, οινῳ δε σπανιζονται· αντ' ελαιυ δε βυτυρῳ χρωνται. *They have barley wine instead of the juice of the grape, which is scarce: and in the room of oil they use (bouturus) butter.*

The knowledge of this people was very great, and in all parts deservedly celebrated. Hence Antiphanes, speaking of them collectively, tells us, [26] Σοφοι δητ' εισιν οι Σκυθαι σφοδρα. By this is meant, that all of the Cuthite family were renowned for their wisdom. The natives of Colchis and Pontus were much skilled in simples. Their country abounded with medicinal herbs, of which they made use both to good and to bad purposes. In the fable of Medea we may read the character of the people: for that princess is represented as very knowing in all the productions of nature, and as gifted with supernatural powers. The region of Iberia in the

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23 Οινῳ δ' εκ κριθεων πεποιημενῳ διαχρεωνται (οι Αιγυπτιοι). Herod. l. 2. c. 77.

24 Ζυθος, οινος απο κριθης γινομενος.

25 Strabo, l. 3. p. 233.

26 Apud Athenæum. l. 6. p. 226.

vicinity of Colchis was also noted for its salutary and noxious plants; of which the poet Horace takes notice.

[27] Herbasque quas et Colchis, atque Iberia
Mittit venenorum ferax.

I have mentioned, that the natives were of the Cuthite race; and as they were devoted to magic, and had their nightly orgies in honour of the Moon, these circumstances are often alluded to by the poets. Hence Propertius takes notice of Cutæan charms.

[28] Tunc ego crediderim vobis et sidera, et amnes,
Posse Cutæïnis ducere carminibus.

In another place he alludes to the efficacy of their herbs.

[29] Non hic herba valet, non hic nocturna Cutæïs.

Virgil also speaks to the same purpose.

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[27] Epod. Od. 5. v. 21. Dionysius says of the Colchians,

——εισιτι γυν πολυφαρμακοι ανδρεσσασι. v. 1029.

[28] Propertius. l. 1. Eleg. 1. v. 23.

[29] Ibid. l. 2. Eleg. 1. v. 73.

[30] Has herbas, atque hæc Ponto mihi lecta venena,
Ipse dedit Mœris: nascuntur plurima Ponto.

Strabo says, that the Soanes were skilled in poisons, and that their arrows were tinged with a deadly [31] juice. The natives of Theba, called Tibareni, were supposed to kill by their very [32] effluvia; and at a very great distance: and it was said of the Hyperboreans, that they could change themselves into birds.

[33] Esse viros fama est in Hyperboreâ Pallene,
Queis soleant levibus velari corpora plumis.

The like faculty was attributed to the Thessalians. The notion arose from a superiority in the people; who were supposed to be endowed with extraordinary powers.

Mount [34] Caucasus, Mount [35] Pangæus in Thrace,

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[30] Eclog. 8. v. 95.

[31] L. 11. p. 763.

[32] Καιτοι τουσγε περι τον Ποντον Θηβεις περοσαγορευομενους ἱστορει Φιλαεχος ὡ παιδιοις μονον, αλλα και τελειοις ὁλεθριως ειναι. Plutarch. Sympos. l. 5. c. 7. p. 680. These were the people, who were esteemed not capable of being drowned.

[33] Ovid. Metamorph. l. 15. v. 356.

[34] Auctor de fluminibus. Phasis.

[35] Ibid. Hebrus.

and the [16] Circean promontory in Italy were famous for uncommon plants. The like is said of Mount Pelion in Thessaly: of which there is extant a very curious [17] description. The herbs were supposed to have been first planted here by Chiron the Centaur. Circe and Calypso are like Medea represented, as very experienced in pharmacy, and simples. Under these characters we have the history of Cuthite priestesses, who presided in particular temples near the sea coast; and whose charms and incantations were thought to have a wonderful influence. The nymphs, who attended them, were a lower order in those sacred colleges: and they were instructed by their superiors in their arts, and mysteries. Ovid gives a beautiful description of Calypso, and her attendants, who are engaged in these occupations.

[18] Nereïdes, Nymphæque simul, quæ vellera motis
Nulla trahunt digitis, nec fila sequentia ducunt,
Gramina disponunt, sparsosque sine ordine flores
Secernunt calathis, variasque coloribus herbas.
Ipsa, quod hæ faciunt, opus exigit: ipsa quid usus
Quoque sit in folio; quæ sit concordia mistis,
Novit, et advertens pensus examinat herbas.

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[16] Ορος Κιρκαιον πολυφαρμακον. Scholia in Apollon. Argonaut. l. 3. v. 311. Theophrastus de Plantis. l. 8. c. 15.

[17] Apud Dicæarchum. Geog. Gr. Minor. vol. 2. p. 27.

[18] Metamorph. l. 14. v. 261.

From the knowledge of this people in herbs, we may justly infer a great excellence in Physic. Egypt, the nurse of arts, was much celebrated for botany.

[39] Αιγυπτίη, τη πολλα φερει ξειδωρος αρουρα
Φαρμακα, πολλα μεν εσθλα μεμιγμενα, πολλα δε λυγρα.

To the Titanians was attributed the invention of chemistry. Hence it is said by Syncellus, [40] Χημια Γιγαντων ευρημα. The Pæonians of Thrace were so knowing in pharmacy, that the art was distinguished by an epithet taken from their name. They lived upon the Hebrus: and all the people of that region were at one time great in [41] science. The Grecians always acknowledged, that they were deeply indebted to them; and the Muses were said to have come from those parts. Here was the spot—

In quo tonanti sancta Mnemosyne Jovi,
Fœcunda novies artium peperit chorum.

The Pierians were as famed for poetry and music, as the Pæonians were for physic. Thamyras, Eumolpus, Linus, Thymætes, and Museus, were supposed to have been of this [42] country. Orpheus

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[39] Homer. Odyss. Δ. v. 229.
[40] P. 14.
[41] See Vol. II. p. 416. of this work.
[42] Diodorus. l. 3. p. 201.

also is ascribed to Thrace; who is said to have soothed the savage rage; and to have animated the very rocks with his harmony.

[43] Αυταρ τονγ' ενεπασιν ατειρεας ηρεσι πετρας
Θελξαι αοιδαων ενοπῃ; ποταμων τε ῥεεθρα.
Φηγοι π' αγριαδες, κεινης ετι σηματα μολπης,
Ακτης Θρηικιης Ζωνης επι τηλεθοωσαι,
Ἑξειης ςιχοωσιν επητριμοι, ας ὁγ' επι προ
Θελγομενας φορμιγγι κατηγαγε Πιεριηθεν.

Of him they tell, that with his tuneful lyre,
He soft'ned rocks upon the rugged hills,
And made the torrent stay. E'en now the trees
Stand in due order near the Thracian shore,
Proof of his wondrous skill; by music's pow'r
Brought from Pieria down to Zona's plain.

These descriptions, though carried to an excess according to the licentiousness of the poets, yet plainly shew, what excellent musicians the Pierians were for the times in which they lived, and how much esteemed by other nations. And in latter times we find people in these parts, who displayed no small shew of genius; and were much addicted to letters. Tacitus, speaking of Cotys, a king of this country, describes him as of a gentle and elegant turn of

[43] Apollon. Rhod. l. 1. v. 25.

mind: [44] Ingenium mite et amænum. But this does not quite come up to his character; for he was a prince devoted to science, who took a great delight in poetry, and was esteemed a good composer. There is an affecting epistle, written by Ovid in his banishment, wherein he addresses Cotys on this head, and conjures him to shew some pity, as he was a partner in the same studies.

[45] Ad vatem vates orantia brachia tendo.

The Hyperboreans seem to have been equally celebrated. They worshipped the Sun and had peculiar mysteries, which were attended with hymns. I have mentioned their coming with flutes, and harps, and other instruments to Delos, and chanting before the altar, which was esteemed the most antient in the world. I have also taken notice of the music of the Egyptians and Canaanites, which was very affecting. An Amazonian tribe, the Mariandini, were noted for the most melancholy [46] airs. The Iberians of Bætica seem in like manner to have delighted in a kind of dirges, and funereal music. Hence they are said by

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[44] Annal. 2. c. 64.

[45] De Ponto. l. 2. Eleg. 9. v. 65.

[46] Και Μαριανδυνων ιερον ωιδον. Dionys. v. 788.

Ἰστον δε, ὁτι επιχωριαζον τοις Μαριανδυνοις θρηνων αυλησαι.—Θρηνητικοι δε και οι Καρες, αφ' ὧν και Καρικα θρηνωδη αυλημαται. Scholia ibid.

Philostratus to have been the only people in the world who celebrated the triumphs of death. [47] Τον Θανατον μονοι ανθρωπων παιανιζονται. The music in these places was well adapted to the melancholy rites of the natives: but it was not in all parts the same. The antients speak of the Dorian and [48] Phrygian measures as more animated and manly. Those of Lesbos and Æolia were particularly sweet, and pleasing, nor was it only harmony, which they esteemed a requisite in their hymns; they were made the repositories of all knowledge, and contained an history of their ancestors, and of their Deities: and the annals of past ages. Such were the hymns at Delphi, and at Delos: and in most regions of Hellas. This is alluded to by Homer in the history of the Sirens, whose voices and music are represented as wonderfully taking; so that nothing could withstand their harmony. But this was not their chief excellence: their knowledge was still more captivating; and of this they made a display to Ulysses, that they might allure him to their shores.

[49] Δευρ' αγ' ιων πολυαιν' Οδυσευ, μεγα κυδος Αχαιων,
Νηα κατασησον, ἱνα νωϊτερην οπ' ακουσης.

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[47] Philostratus in Vitâ Apollon. p 211.

[48] See Aristotle de Repub. l. 8. c. 7. p. 618. They were however in some degree plaintive. See Scholia in Dionys. Περιηγησ. v. 788.

[49] Odyss. M. v. 184.

Ου γαρ πω τις τηδε παρηλασεν νηι μελαινη,
Πριν γ' ημεων μελιγηρυν απο στοματων οπ' ακουσαι·
Αλλ' ογε τερψαμενος νειται, και πλειονα ειδως.
Ιδμεν γαρ τοι παντ' οσ' ενι Τροιη ευρειη
Αργειοι Τρωες τε θεων ιοτητι μογησαν.
Ιδμεν δ' οσσα γενηται επι χθονι πολυβοτειρη.
Ως φασαν ιεισαι οπα καλλιμον——

Pride of all Greece, renown'd Ulysses, stay,
And for a moment listen to our song.
For ne'er did mortal yet this lovely isle
Pass unregarded; but his course withheld
To hear our soothing lays: he then retired,
His soul all raptures, and his mind improv'd.
We know the sad affecting tale of Troy,
The godlike heroes, and the ten years toil;
Oh, stay, and listen to us: we'll unfold
All that time treasures, and the world contains.
So sang th' alluring Sirens, pouring forth
A most melodious strain.

Thus have I attempted to shew, how superior in science this great family appeared, wherever they settled. And though they degenerated by degrees; and were oftentimes overpowered by a barbarous enemy, which reduced them to a state of obscurity; yet some traces of their original superiority were in most places to be found. Thus the Turdetani, one of those Iberian nations upon the great western ocean, are to the last represented as a most intel-

ligent people. *They are well acquainted,* says [50] Strabo, *with grammar, and have many written records of high antiquity. They have also large collections of poetry: and even their laws are described in verse, which, they say, are of six thousand years standing.* Though their laws and annals may have fallen far short of that date, yet they were undoubtedly very curious; and we must necessarily lament the want of curiosity in the Romans, who have not transmitted to us the least sample of these valuable remains. In Tatianus [51] Assyrius, and more especially in Clemens of [52] Alexandria, we have an account of those persons, who were supposed to have blessed the world with some invention: and upon examination almost all of them will be found to have been of Cuthite original.

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[50] Σοφωτατοι δ' εξεταζονται των Ιβηρων ουτοι, και γραμματικη χρωνται, και της παλαιας μνημης εχουσι τα συγγραμματα, και ποιηματα, και νομους εμμετρους εξακισχιλιων ετων, ως φασι. l. 3. p. 204.

[51] C. 1. p. 243.

[52] Stromat. l. 1. p. 364. See also Pliny and Hyginus.

OF

THEIR BUILDINGS

AND

OTHER GREAT OPERATIONS.

IT would be unpardonable, if I were to pass over in silence the mighty works, which this people carried on, and the edifices, which they erected in the different parts, where they settled. All those mounds and causeways, the high roads, and stately structures, which have been attributed to Semiramis of Babylonia, were the works of the antient Semarim of that country. They formed vast lakes, and carried on canals at a great expence: and opened roads over hills, and through forests, which were before impassable. Strabo says, *that Babylonia was full of works of this* [1] *nature; and besides what was*

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[1] He attributes the whole to Semiramis. Και της Σεμιραμιδος, χωρις των εν Βαβυλωνι εργων, πολλα και αλλα κατα πασαν γην σημεια δεικνυται, οση της Ηπειρε ταυτης εστιν. τατε χωματα, ἁ δη καλουσι Σεμιραμιδος, και τειχη, και εζυματων κατασκευαι, και συριγγων των εν αυτοις, κ τ λ. l. 16. p. 1071.

Τειχος Σεμιραμιδος. Ibid. l. 11. p. 802.

Tyana near Comana in Pontus. Χωμα Σεμιραμιδος. Ibid. l. 12 p. 811. See also l. 2. p. 134.

done in these parts, there were monuments of Babylonian industry all over Asia. He mentions, λοφοι, *high altars of raised earth, and strong walls, and battlements of various cities, together with subterraneous passages of communication. Also aqueducts for the conveyance of water under ground: and passages of great length upwards by stairs. To these were added beds, formed for the passage of rivers, and for lakes: together with bridges, and highways.* Those, who were driven to Egypt, and took up their residence in that country, carried on the like works; many of which remain to this day, and are the wonder of all, who view them. Besides clearing the river, and gaining a most valuable territory, they enriched the upper region with numberless conveniences. The canal, which they carried on from the upper point of Delta to the Red Sea, was an immense operation. They undertook it: and, however people may dispute the point, it was finished. [2] This is evident from the abutments of the floodgates, which are still existing between the [3] hills, through which it passed. For they took advantage in conducting it, of an hollow in the Arabian [3] mountain; and led it through this

[2] Something of this nature was observed by Pocock. See Egypt. vol. 1. page 132. The canal was again opened by Ptolemy, called by Diodorus Πτολεμαιος ὁ δευτερος. l. 1. p. 30.

[3] The same as Phi-Hiroth of the Scriptures. Exodus, c. 14. v. 2.

natural channel. Don John de Castro [4] says, that though the antient passage is in great measure filled with sand, yet traces of it are still to be seen in the way to Suez. The stones, of which they made use for the construction of their obelisks, and pyramids, were hewn out of the mountain of Arabia: and some were brought from the quarries in the Thebaïs. Most of these are so large and ponderous, that it has been the wonder of the best artists, how they could be carried to that degree of elevation, at which they are seen at this day. The obelisks consist of one stone, and are of a great length. Two of them have been brought from Alexandria to Rome: and treatises have been written to show the manner of their [5] conveyance: and others to describe the means, by which they were afterwards raised. What must have been the original labour, when they were hewn from the rock; and when they were first erected! The principal pyramid seems at first to have been five hundred feet in perpendicular height, though by the accumulation of sand, it may fall something short of that extent at this [6] day. The vertex was crowned with thirteen great stones,

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[4] Travels, c. 7. See Astley's Collection, vol. 1. p. 126.

[5] Marcellinus. l. 17. p. 124.

[6] It is four hundred and ninety-nine feet high, according to Greaves. Vol. 1. p. 94.

Gemelli makes it five hundred and twenty feet. Churchill's Voyages, vol. 4. p. 27.

two of which do not now appear. Within are rooms, which are formed of stones equally large. Thevenot speaks of a [7] hall, thirty feet in length, nineteen in height, and sixteen in breadth. He says, that the roof is flat, and covered with nine stones, of which seven in the middle are sixteen feet in length. Sandys also speaks of a [8] chamber forty feet in length, and of a great height. The stones were so large, that eight floored it; eight roofed it; eight flagged the ends; and sixteen the sides; all of well-wrought Theban marble. The chamber, to which he alludes, is certainly the center room: but he is mistaken in his mensuration. We have it more accurately described by another of our countrymen [9] Greaves: who speaks of it *as a rich and spacious chamber of most curious workmanship. The stones*, says he, *which cover this place, are of a strange, and stupendous length, like so many huge beams lying flat, and traversing the room; and withal supporting that infinite mass and weight of the pyramid above. Of these there are nine, which cover the roof.* He makes the room larger, than it is supposed to be by Thevenot; for he says, that by a most exact measurement, he found it to be something more than thirty-four English feet in length; seventeen

[7] Part Second, p. 132.
[8] L. 2. p. 102.
[9] Greaves, vol. 1. p. 126.

feet $\frac{199}{1000}$ in breadth; and nineteen and an half in height. Pocock takes notice of some prodigious stones, which he met with in these parts. One was found to be twenty-one feet in length, eight broad, and four in depth. Another was thirty-three feet long, and five broad.

Many have been the surmises about the people, by whom these stately structures were erected. I have mentioned, that they were the work of the Cuthites; those Arab Shepherds, who built [10] Heliopolis, who were the Γηγενεις, the Giants and Titans of the first ages. The curious traveller Norden [11] informs us, that there is a tradition still current among the people of Egypt, that there were once Giants in that country: and that by them these structures were raised, which have been the astonishment of the world. According to Herodotus, they were built by the [12] Shepherd Philitis; and by a people held in abomination by the Egyptians.

The ancient temple at Heliopolis in Syria was in great repute, long before it was rebuilt after the mode of the Grecians. It is generally called Balbec, which seems to be a variation for Bal-beth; as

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[10] Juba auctor est - Solis quoque oppidum, quod non procul Memphi in Ægypti situ diximus Arabas conditores habere. Plin. l. 6. p. 343.

[11] Vol. 1. p. 75.

[12] L. 2. c. 128.

we may infer from [13] Gulielmus Tyrius. Of the original building we may form some judgment, from a part of the antient wall, which still remains. Dr. Pocock, having spoken of the temple, which now lies in ruins, adds, [14] *but what is very surprising, in the wall to the west of the temple, there are three stones, near twenty feet above the ground; each of which is sixty feet long: the largest of them is about sixty-two feet nine inches in length. On the north side are likewise seven very large stones; but not of so great a size: the thickness was about twelve feet.* The same were observed by the late learned and curious Mr. Wood; whose account seems to have been more precise. *We could not,* says he, *get to measure the height and breadth of the stones, which compose the second stratum. But we found the length of three of them to make together above an hundred and ninety feet; and separately sixty-three feet eight inches, sixty-four feet, and sixty-three feet.* And that these ponderous masses were not, as some have idly surmised, factitious, may be proved from the places, whence they were manifestly taken. There is one stone of

[13] Heliopolim Græce videlicet, quæ hodie Malbec (lege Balbec) dicitur, Arabice dictam Balbeth. Gulielm. Tyrius. l. 21. p. 1000. According to Jablonsky, Bec and Beth are synonymous.

[14] Vol. 2. p. 110.

an immense size; which has been fashioned, but never entirely separated from the quarry, where it was first formed. It stands in the vicinity of those abovementioned; and is taken notice of both by Dr. Pocock, and Mr. Wood. The account given by the latter is very remarkable. [15] *In the first quarry there are still remaining some vast stones, cut and shaped for use. That upon which this letter* I *(in the second plate) is marked, appears from its shape and size to have been intended for the same purpose, as the three stones mentioned Plate* 3. *It is not entirely detached from the quarry at the bottom. We measured it separately, and allowing for a little disagreement in our accounts, owing, we think, to its not being exactly shaped into a perfectly regular body, we found it seventy feet long, fourteen broad, and fourteen feet five inches deep. The stone according to these dimensions contains fourteen thousand one hundred and twenty-eight cubic feet: and should weigh, were it Portland stone, about two millions two hundred and seventy thousand pounds avoirdupoise; or one thousand one hundred and thirty-five tons.* From these accounts, we learn two things: first, that the people, by whom these operations were carried on, were persons of

[15] Account of Balbec. p. 18. See also the Travels of Van Egmont. vol. 2. p. 275. and Maundrel's Journey to Aleppo. p. 138.

great industry and labour: and in the next place, that they must have been very ingenious, and deeply skilled in mechanical powers. For even in these days, among the most knowing, it is matter of difficulty to conceive how these mighty works could be effected. There occur in our own island large stones, which were probably first raised on a religious account. It has been a subject of much inquiry, to find out in what manner they were brought, and by what means erected, where they stand. But in the countries, of which I have been speaking, we see masses of rock of far superior size not resting upon the earth, but carried aloft; some to an hundred, others to five hundred feet, perpendicular.

Many have looked upon these antient buildings, especially the pyramids in Egypt, with an air of contempt, as being vast piles without any great symmetry: and have thought the labour idle, and the expence unnecessary. But it must be considered, that they were designed for high altars and temples; and were constructed in honour of the Deity. Though they are rude, and entirely void of every ornament, which more refined ages have introduced; yet the work is stupendous, and the execution amazing: and cannot be viewed without marks of astonishment. And if we once come to think, that all cost, which does not seem quite necessary, is culpable; I know not, where we shall stop: for our own churches, and other edifices, though more diversified and embellished, are liable to the same

objection. Though they fall far short of the solidity and extent of the buildings abovementioned, yet less cost might certainly have been applied; and less labour expended. One great purpose in all eminent and expensive structures is to please the stranger and traveller, and to win their admiration. This is effected sometimes by a mixture of magnificence and beauty: at other times solely by immensity and grandeur. The latter seems to have been the object in the erecting of those celebrated buildings in Egypt: and they certainly have answered the design. For not only the vastness of their structure, and the area, which they occupy, but the ages they have endured, and the very uncertainty of their history, which runs so far back into the depths of antiquity, produce altogether a wonderful veneration; to which buildings more exquisite and embellished are seldom entitled. Many have supposed, that they were designed for places of sepulture: and it has been affirmed by [16] Herodotus, and other antient writers. But they spoke by guess: and I have shewn by many instances, how usual it was for the Grecians to mistake temples for tombs. If the chief pyramid were designed for a place of burial, what occasion was there for a [17] well, and for passages of communication, which led to other build-

[16] L. 2. c. 127.

[17] See Pocock, Norden, and others.

ings? Near the pyramids are apartments of a wonderful fabric, which extend in length one thousand four hundred feet, and about thirty in depth. They have been cut out of the hard [18] rock, and brought to a perpendicular by the artist's chizel; and through dint of labour fashioned as they now appear: They were undoubtedly designed for the reception of priests; and consequently were not appendages to a tomb, but to a temple of the Deity. It is indeed said, that a stone coffin is still to be seen in the center room of the chief pyramid: and its shape and dimensions have been accurately taken. It is easy to give a name, and assign a use, to any thing, which comes under our inspection: but the truth is not determined by our surmises. There is not an instance, I believe, upon record, of any Egyptian being entombed in this manner. The whole practice of the country seems to have been intirely [19] different. I make no doubt but this stone trough was a reservoir for water, which, by means of the well, they drew from the Nile. The priests of Egypt delighted in obscurity; and they probably came by the subterraneous passages of the building to the dark chambers within; where they performed their lustrations and other nocturnal rites. Many of the antient temples in this country were caverns

[18] Greaves of the Pyramids. vol. I. p. 141.

[19] See Shaw's Travels. p. 419.

in the rock, enlarged by art, and cut out into numberless dreary apartments: for no nation upon earth was so addicted to gloom and melancholy as the Egyptians. From the top of the pyramids, they observed the heavens, and marked the constellations: and upon the same eminence it is probable, that they offered up vows and oblations.

As the whole of Upper Egypt was closely bounded on each side by mountains, all the floods which descended from the higher region, and from Abyssinia, must have come with uncommon violence. The whole face of the country affords evidence of their impetuosity in the first ages, before they had borne down those obstacles, by which their descent was impeded. As the soil was by degrees washed away, many rocks were left bare; and may still be seen rough and rude in a variety of directions. Some stand up single: others of immense size lie transverse, and incumbent upon those below; and seem to shew, that they are not in their natural situation; but have been shattered and overturned by some great convulsion of nature. The Egyptians looked upon these with a degree of veneration: and some of them they left, as they found[20] them, with perhaps only an hieroglyphic. Others they shaped with tools, and formed into various devices. The Sphinx seems to have been originally a vast rock of

[20] See Norden, Plate 122, 123.

different strata: which from a shapeless mass the Egyptians fashioned into an object of beauty and veneration. I should imagine, that the pyramids were constructed in the same manner; at least those, which are the principal, and stand opposite to Cairo. They were probably immense rocks, which stood upon the brow of the mountain. The Egyptians availed themselves of what chance offered; and cased them over with large stones; and brought them by these means to a degree of symmetry and proportion. At the same time, they filled up the unnecessary interstices with rubbish and mortar; and made chambers and apartments, according as the intervals in the rock permitted; being obliged to humour the indirect turns and openings in the original mass to execute what they purposed. This, I think, may be inferred from the narrowness, and unnecessary sloping of the passages, which are oftentimes very close and steep: and also from the fewness of the rooms in a work of so immense a structure.

I have mentioned, that they shewed a reverential regard to fragments of rock, which were particularly uncouth and horrid: and this practice seems to have prevailed in many other countries. It was usual with much labour to place one vast stone upon another for a religious memorial. The stones thus placed, they oftentimes poized so equably, that they were affected with the least external force: nay a breath of wind would sometimes make them vibrate,

We have many instances of this nature in our own country; and they are to be found in other parts of the world: and wherever they occur we may esteem them of the highest antiquity. All such works we generally refer to the Celts, and to the Druids; under the sanction of which names we shelter ourselves, whenever we are ignorant, and bewildered. But they were the operations of a very remote age; probably before the time, when the Druids, or Celtæ, were first known. I question, whether there be in the world a monument, which is much prior to the celebrated Stone-Henge. There is reason to think, that it was erected by a foreign colony; one of the first, which came into the island. Here is extant at this day, one of those rocking stones, of which I have been speaking above. The antients distinguished stones erected with a religious view by the name of amber: by which was signified any thing solar and divine. The Grecians called them [21] Πετραι Αμβροσιαι, Petræ [22] Ambrosiæ; and there are representations of such upon coins. Horapollo speaks of a sacred book in Egypt styled [23] Ambres; which was so called from its sanctity;

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[21] Vaillant de nummis Colon. vol. 2. p. 69. 148. 218.

[22] Αμβροσια, θεια.—Αμβροσιου, θειου. Hesych.
Αμβροσιαζειν θεραπευειν εν τοις ιεροις. Ibid.

[23] Ετι δε παρα τοις Ιερογραμματευσι και βιβλος ιερα, καλουμενη Αμβρης. L. 1. c. 38. p. 52.

being a medicinal book of Hermes, and intrusted solely to the care of the sacred scribes Stonehenge is composed of these amber-stones: hence the next town is denominated [24] Ambrosbury: not from a Roman Ambrosius, for no such person existed; but from the Ambrosiæ Petræ, in whose vicinity it stands. Some of these, as I have taken notice, were rocking stones: and there was a wonderful monument of this sort near Penzance in Cornwall, though, I believe, it is now in great measure ruined. It still retains the name of [25] Main-Amber, by which is signified the *sacred stones.* We find it described by the English antiquary Norden, who [26] says, that it consisted of *certayne huge stones, so sett, and subtillye combyned, not by art, as I take it, but by* [27] *nature, as a child may move the upper stone, being of a huge bignes, with one finger; so equallie ballanced it is: and the forces of manie strong men conjoined can do no more in moving it.* He men-

[24] See Stukeley's Stonehenge, p. 49, 50.

[25] Main, from whence came mœnia, signified, in the primitive language, a stone, or stones, and also a building. By amber was meant any thing sacred. Chil-Minar, by which name the celebrated ruins in Persia are distinguished, seems to signify Collis Petræ. The word Minaret is of the same etymology, from Meen and Main, a stone.

[26] Norden's Cornwall. p. 48. The upper stone was eleven feet long, six feet wide, and five in thickness.

[27] These works are of too much nicety, and too often repeated, to be effected by chance.

tions another of the same sort called [28] Pendre Stone. It is, he says, *a rock upon the topp of a hill near Bliston, on which standeth a beacon; and on the top of the rock lyeth a stone, which is three yardes and a haulfe longe, four foote broad, and two and a haulfe thick; and it is equally balanced, that the winde will move it, whereof I have had true experience. And a man with his little finger will easily stirr it, and the strength of many cannot remove it.* Such a one is mentioned by Apollonius Rhodius, which was supposed to have been raised in the time of the Argonautæ. It stood in the island Tenos, and was the monument of Calaïs and Zetes, the two winged sons of Boreas. They are said to have been slain by Hercules; and though the history be a fable, yet such a monument, I make no doubt, existed in that island, as the poet describes.

——συγερῃ τισις επλετ' οπισσω
Χερσιν ὑφ' Ἡρακληος,——
Αθλων γαρ Πελιαο διδασποτος αψ ανιοντας
Τηνῳ εν αμφιρυτῃ πεφνεν, και αμησατο γαιαν
Αμφ' αυτοις, σηλας δε δυω καθυπερθεν ετευξεν·
Ὧν ετερη, Θαμβος περιωσιον ανδρασι λευσσειν,
Κινυται ηχηεντος ὑπο πνοιῃ Βορεαο.

[28] P. 74.

These hapless heroes, as they bent their way
From the sad rites of Pelias, lately dead,
Alcides slew in Tenos. He then rais'd
An ample mound in memory of the slain,
And on it plac'd two stones. One still remains
Firm on its base: the other, lightly poiz'd,
Is viewed by many a wondering eye, and moves
At the slight impulse of the northern breeze.

Ptolemy [29] Hephæstion mentions a large stone upon the borders of the ocean, probably near Gades in Bœtica, which he calls Petra Gigonia; and says, that it could be moved with a [30] blade of grass. Γιγὼν, Gigon, from whence came the term Gigonia, was, according to Hesychius, a name of the Egyptian [31] Hercules. From hence we may infer, that both the stone here, and that also in Tenos, was sacred to this Deity, who was called [32] Archal, and Arcalus, by the Egyptians, Tyrians, and other nations. By Petra Gigonia was signified an Herculean monument, not raised by him, but to his honour: and it was undoubtedly erected by people of those colonies, who came both from Tyre and Egypt.

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[29] Apud Photium. p. 475.

[30] Ἀσφοδίλῳ. The author supposes, that nothing else could move the stone.

[31] Γιγὼν, Παταικὸς· οἱ δὲ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Ἡρακλέα.

[32] The name was sometimes expressed Orchal and Ourchol.

I once made mention of these moving stones to a gentleman who had been in China: and he told me, that there was one of this sort in the island Amoy, which belongs to that empire. As he had not taken particular notice of it himself, he applied to a friend, who had been upon the spot, and who sent him the following account. *As to the moving stone at Amoy, I have only my memory, to which I can recur. It is of an immense size; and it would have been difficult to have measured it, as the longest, though the smallest, part, hung over a precipice; and the extremity of it could not be reached. It was in great measure of a strait oblong form: and under the shortest, which was however the biggest, part, we could walk for some paces. By pressing against it with my cane upwards, and then withdrawing my arm, I could perceive a sensible vibration. We judged it by estimation, to be forty feet in length: and between forty and fifty in circumference at the larger end. The stone did not lie quite horizontal, but slanting. I had nobody to apply to for information about it, except one person; who though a native of Fokien, could afford me no intelligence. In the vicinity of this were several other stones of an enormous size; and at the same time as round and smooth, as any pebbles in the highway. Three of these, which were remarkably large, lay in contact with one another: and on the top of these was a fourth. One would not think it possible for any*

human force to have placed the uttermost in this position. Might they not have been settled in this manner at the Deluge? I agree with this curious gentleman, that at the Deluge many of these vast stones were left bare upon the retreat of the waters. But those, which are so equally poised, and so regularly placed upon others, must have been thus adapted by the contrivance and industry of man. For, as I before said, their situation is too nice and critical, and they occur too [33] often, to be the effect of chance.

There are probably many instances in China of stones so constituted as to be affected by a strong motion of the air. Two such are mentioned by Kircher: and one of them was in the same province, as that taken notice of above. [34] Admiratione dignum est, quod de Monte Cio referunt Orioscopi Sinenses, esse in ejus vertice lapidem quinque perticarum altitudinis, et in regno Fokiensi alterum, qui quoties tempestas imminet, omnino titubat, et hinc inde, ad instar Cupressi vento agitatæ, movetur. Kircher, who loves the marvellous, would persuade us, that these stones afforded a prognostic of the weather. But this is an idle surmise. It is sufficient, that there are in those regions immense

[33] See Stukeley's Stonehenge. p. 49.
[34] China Illust. p. 270.

stones, so disposed, as to be made to vibrate by the wind.

When the Cuthites began their migrations to the several parts, where they settled; the earth was overgrown with forests: and when they had in any region taken up their abode, it was some time before they could open a communication between the places, which they occupied. It is particularly said of [35] Cyprus, when it received its first inhabitants, that it was overgrown with impassable forests. They however in their different journeyings, felled the trees, which intercepted their course; and formed causeways and high roads, through the marshes and swamps, that intervened. Some of these were of great extent, and afford wonderful evidence of their ingenuity and labour. One of these was in India; and styled the way of Nusa: being the same by which Dionusus was supposed to have passed, when he fled eastward: [36] Τἀνεκα Νυσαιην μιν εφημιξαντο κελευθον. In Campania was an ancient stratum, supposed to have been made by [37] Hercules, and called Via Herculanea: and there

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[35] Strabo. l. 4. p. 1003.

[36] Dionys. Περιηγης. v. 1159.

[37] Quâ jacet et Trojæ tubicen Misenus arenâ,
Et sonat Herculeo' structa labore via.
Propert. Eleg. l. 3. 16. v. 3.
It was also called Via Puteolana.
Ὁ φασιν Ἡρακλεια διαχωσαι. Strabo. l. 5. p. 375.

was a city of the same name. The passage through the Alpes Cottiæ, or Cuthean Alps, seems to have been a great performance; and was attributed to the same Hercules. There was a third Herculean way in Iberia, which is mentioned by Festus Rufus Avienus.

[38] Aliique rursus Herculis dicunt viam.
Stravisse quippe maria fertur Hercules,
Iter ut pateret facile captivo gregi.

These noble works were always dedicated to some Deity, and called by a sacred title: by which means the personage in aftertimes was supposed to have been the chief performer. The [39] Via Elora, called also Elorina, in Sicily, was one of these antient roads: as was the Via [40] Egnatia in Thrace; which reached from Dyrrhachium to the Pontus Euxinus. They often raised vast ramparts to secure themselves from the nations, which were in their vicinity. Some of those, erected by the Semarim in Asia, have been mentioned. In Albania, one of the

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[38] Ora Maritima. v. 326.

[39] Ὁδὸν Ελωρίνην. Thucydid. l. 7. p. 500.

Hinc Syracusas usque via erat antiquitus plano lapide strata, quam Elorinam appellabant. Fazellus Decad. 1. l. 4. c. 2.

[40] It was five hundred miles in length. See Strabo. l. 7. p. 496. also Antoninus. p. 317. and the notes of Hieron. Surrita.

Amazonian regions, was a fortification, which extended fifty leagues in length, to guard the pass between Mount Caucasus and the Caspian Sea. The Nubian geographer speaks of it, and styles it—[41] Aggerem a Bicorni extructum inter nos, et Iagog, et Magog. Near it was the city Bachu. In the terms Bachu and Iagog, we may plainly see a reference to Iacchus and Bacchus, the hero here described with two horns; by whose votaries, the antient Amazonians, this work was constructed. The remains of it are still to be seen, and have been visited by modern travellers. Olearius had the curiosity to take a view of it: and he tells us, that it passes near the city Derbent. [42] *There is a mountain above the city, covered with wood; where there may be still seen the ruins of a wall about fifty leagues in length: which, we were told, had sometimes served for a communication between the Euxine and Caspian seas.* In some places it was five or six feet high: in others but two: and in some places there was no trace at all. The natives suppose the city to have been built by Alexander the Great; and from thence to have been called [43] *Scaher Iünan.* But there is no reason to think, that Alexander was ever in these parts; much less, that he

[41] Climat. Sext. pars nona. p. 267.

[42] Olearius. l. 7. p. 403.

[43] Struys Travels, c. 20. p. 222.

built here a city: and the terms Scaher, or rather Caher Iünan relate to a history far prior to that prince. I have in many places taken notice of a person named Ion, Ionichus, and Iuna-Hellen, who was supposed to have been the author of the Zabian worship; and from whom the antient Iönim were descended. Caher [44] Iünan was certainly a city built by some of this family, and named from their common ancestor. Near this place, they shew a tomb, said to belong to a gigantic hero of antient days, named Tzamzuma. Many stories are told of him, especially by the eastern poets. But by the name is plainly indicated the family of the person, of whom this memorial remains. It signifies, that he was of the Anakim and Titanian race: for people of extraordinary stature were of old called [45] Zanzummim.

The buildings, which the Cuthites erected, were in many places styled Cyclopian, from a title given to the architects. Many antient edifices in Sicily were of their construction: for, though they succeeded to other nations in many parts, they seem to have been the [46] first inhabitants of this island.

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[44] See Vol. IV. of this work.

[45] That also was accounted a land of Giants: Giants dwelt therein of old time; and the Ammonites call them Zanzummim: a people great and many; and tall as the Anakim. Deuteron. c. 2. v. 20.

[46] Παλαιοτατοι μεν λεγονται εν μερει τινι της χωρας Κυκλωπες, και Λαιστρυγονες οικησαι. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 2.

They were also called Læstrygons, and Lamii: and resided chiefly in the Leontine plains, and in the regions near Ætna. They erected many temples; and likewise high towers upon the sea-coast; and founded many cities. The ruins of some of them are still extant; and have been taken notice of by Fazellus, who speaks of them as exhibiting a most magnificent appearance. They consist of stones, which are of great size: such as are continually to be found in the structures erected by this people. Fazellus, speaking of the bay near Segesta, and of an hill, which overlooked the bay, [47] mentions wonderful ruins upon its summit, and gives an ample description of their extent and appearance. Mons arduus,—in cujus vertice planicies est mille ferme passuum: cujus totum ambitum ingentis magnæ urbis, et prostratarum Ædium ruinæ; lapides immensi, tegulæ latericiæ, inauditæ crassitudinis; vasa fictilia antiquissimæ inusitatæque formæ: ac pro singulis liminibus, singulæ fere cisternæ; quales et in Eryce et in Segestâ urbibus notavimus, sparsim et confuse occupant. Ad angulum urbis, qui mari et Zephyri flatibus prominet, magnæ arcis dirutæ, cisternarum, ædiumque, ac murorum ingentium vasta

——τους Κυκλωπας Αιολιτινες οι ὑστερον εκαλεσαν. Eustath. in Homerum. Odyss. l. 9.

[47] Decad. 1. l. 7. c. 5. See Cluverii Sicilia. l. 2. c. 2. p. 270. There are similar ruins at Agrigentum.

cernuntur monumenta. Ingressum quoque ejus, mœnium, amplissimâ quondam murorum compagine, lapidumque quadratorum fabricâ, insurgentium, magna fragmenta [48] impediunt. The Cyclopians were the same as the Minyæ, who built the treasury at Orchomenus. This building is by [49] Pausanias joined with the walls of Tiryns for magnificence; and he speaks of them as equal in workmanship to the pyramids of Egypt. The walls of Mycenæ were said to have been erected by the same [50] persons: and they were so strong, that when the people of Argos made use of every power to take the place, they could not [51] effect it. In the time of the above writer, nothing remained of Tiryns but the [52] ruins

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[48] The city Cirta in Numidia seems to have been built in the same manner. It was by the Romans called Constantina; and is thus described by Gulielmus Cuperus in his notes upon Lactantius. Constantina montis prope inaccessi vertici imposita, qui munitur insuper lapidibus decem vel duodecim pedes longis, quatuor vel quinque latis; rotunda, et ejusdem fere ac Roterodamum magnitudinis est. Ædificia pro gentis more, et genio, parvi momenti sunt; sed rudera, ac columnæ marmoreæ, quæ passim a fodientibus terram eruuntur, certissima indicia sunt, olim illa splendida ac magnifica fuisse. Vide notas in Lactantium. vol. 2. p. 498. Leo Africanus. p. 240.

[49] L. 9. p. 783.

[50] Ετειτειχιτο γαρ κατα ταυτα τω ιη Τιρυνθι υπο των Κυκλωπων καλουμενων. Pausan. l. 7. p. 589.

See Vol. II. p. 258 of this work.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Τουδε τειχους, ο δη μουνον των ημεις ιδομεν λειπεται, Κυκλωπων μεν εστιν

before mentioned. They consisted of rough stones; which were of such a magnitude, that the least of them could not, he says, have been at all moved upon the ground by a yoke of mules. There were smaller stones inserted, and so happily adapted, as to exactly fill up the interstices between those, which were so large.

Such were the mighty works of old, which promised to last for ever: but have been long since subverted; and their name and history oftentimes forgotten. It is a melancholy consideration, that not only in Sicily, and Greece, but in all the celebrated regions of the east, the history of the pilgrim and traveller consists chiefly in his passing through a series of dilapidations; a process from ruin to ruin. What hand was it, that could subvert such powerful states, and lay these cities in the dust? and for what cause were they reduced to this state of irretrievable demolition; and reserved as melancholy memorials to future generations? a spectacle both to the native, and sojourner, of the utmost wonder and astonishment? [53] *Come behold the works of the Lord: what desolations he hath made in the earth. He maketh wars to cease unto the ends of the world. He breaketh the bow; and cutteth the*

ἐργον· ποιοῦνται δὲ ἀργὸν λίθων, μεγέθος ἔχων ἱκανὸς λίθος, ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μηδ' ἂν ἀρχὴν κινηθῆναι τὸν μικρότατον ὑπὸ ζεύγους ἡμιόνων. κ. τ. λ. Ibid. l. 2. p. 169.

[53] Psalm. 46. v. 8.

spear asunder: he burneth the chariots with fire. Be still, and know, that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen: I will be exalted in the earth.

These evidences I thought proper to collect, in order that I might shew the great superiority, which this people once maintained above others in their works and enterprises; and in every branch of science. In consequence of this, they were looked upon as general benefactors to mankind. But this noble character was greatly tarnished by their cruelty; for which they seem to have been infamous in all parts. And this not merely through degeneracy in later times; though they did fall off from their original merit: but from their rites and religion; which had always a tendency to blood. I have before spoken of the Lamii in Sicily: and of those also, who resided in Italy, at Phorniæ, and Cumæ. There were people of this name, and the like cruelties were practised near Amisa, and in other parts of Pontus. The Cuthæ upon the Mæotis, and in the Tauric Chersonesus, are described as very inhospitable: and all those in their vicinity were of a savage cast, and guilty of great barbarity.

[54] Γισιν δε τοις οχλοις μεν οι Ταυροι συχνοι·
Βιον δ' ενοριον, νομαδαι εξηλωκοτες·

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[54] Scymnus Chius apud Geog. Gr. minores. vol. 2. v. 85. 90. 99. Vide Fragmenta.

Τὴν δ' ωμοτητα βαρβαροι τε, και φονεις,
Ιλασμενοι τα θεια τοις ασεβημασι.
—— [55] αχρι των Κυτων
Σκυται κατοικεσι.
Ανω δε τυτων εσι Σκυθικη βαρβαρος.
Ὑπερ δε τυτων εθνος ανδροφαγων Σκυθων.

It is said of the Amazonians, that they were by no means of a gentle turn; nor did they regard justice; or hospitality: but were devoted to war and rapine.

[56] Ου γαρ Αμαζονιδες μαλ' επητεες, ουδε Θεμισας
Τισασαι, πεδιον Δοιαντιον αμφενεμοντο·
Αλλ' ὑβρις φονοεσσα, και Αρεος εργα μεμηλε.
Δη γαρ και γενεην εσαν Αρεος, Ἁρμονιης τε.

Strabo, who lived in Pontus, speaks of the nations upon that coast, as being given to horrid customs. I am sensible, that many people cannot be brought to believe what is reported of these nations. They think, that the disposition of man can never be so depraved, as to turn to its own species, and indulge in human carnage. I shall make no answer myself: but only place before the reader some few attestations out of many, which might be produced, of this

[55] The Κυται and Σκυθαι were the same.
[56] Apollon. Argonaut. l. 2. v. 989.

unnatural gratification. The writer before appealed to, speaks of his neighbours the Scythians, as very cruel. [57] Τους μεν γαρ ειναι χαλεπους, ὡστε και ανθρωποφαγειν. *Some of them were so brutal as to feed upon their own species.* Pliny mentions the same circumstance. [58] Anthropophagi Scythæ—humanis corporibus vescuntur. The same is in another place repeated. [59] Esse Scytharum genera, et plurima, quæ corporibus humanis vescerentur, indicavimus. The Scythæ Androphagi are also spoken of by [60] Herodotus. The Sacæ, Indi, and Indo-Scythæ, were of the same family, as those above; and they are represented by Mela, as indulging in these horrid repasts. [61] Scythæ sunt Androphagi et Sacæ.—Indorum quidam nullum animal occidere, nullâ carne vesci, optimum existimant.—quidam proximos, parentesque, priusquam annis et ægritudine in maciem eant, velut hostias cædunt; cæsorumque visceribus epulari fas, et maxime pium est. *The Scythæ are Cannibals, and so are the Sacæ.—Some of the Indi*

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[57] Strabo. l. 7. p. 463. He takes notice in more places than one, Σκυθων ξενοθυνουτων, και σαρκοφαγουντων. See l. 7. p. 458.

[58] Pliny. l. 6. p. 315.

[59] Ibid. l. 7. p. 370.

[60] l. 4. c. 118. also c. 106. He mentions one nation only. See Lucian. Toxaris.

[61] P. Mela. l. 3. c. 7. Ινδους ανθρωποφαγους. Schol. in Dionys. v. 626. See Origen, cont. Cels. l. 3. c. 4. Concerning this custom in different places, see Strabo. l. 4. p. 307. l. 11. p. 787.

will not kill any animal, nor feed at all upon flesh. —*Others make it a rule, before their friends are emaciated either by years, or illness, to put them to death, like so many victims: and they think it not only a lawful thing, but a matter of duty and affection to feed upon their inward parts.* The most reputable people of the Indi were supposed to have been the Nysæans: and they are particularly accused of this crime. [62] Φασι—τους περι το Νυσσαιον ορος τουτο οικουντας (Ινδους) ανθρωποφαγους ειναι. Tertullian gives the same account of the Cimmerian Scythæ, as has been exhibited of the Indic by Mela. [63] Parentum cadavera cum pecudibus cæsa convivio convorant. Several nations devoted to the same practice are enumerated by Aristotle. Πολλα δ' εστι των εθνων, ἁ προς το κτεινειν, και προς την ανθρωποφαγιαν ευχερως εχει, καθαπερ των περι τον Ποντον Αχαιοι τε και Ηνιοχοι, και ηπειρωτικων εθνων ἑτεροι. *There are many nations, who do not scruple to kill men, and afterwards to feed upon their flesh. Among these we may reckon the nations of Pontus; such as the Achæans, and the Heniochi; as well as other people upon that coast.* One province in these parts, was that of the Chabareni, who lived near Colchis, and were denominated from their [64] worship. They used

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[62] Scholia in Dionys. v. 624. p. 116.

[63] Contra Manich. l. 1. p. 365.

[64] The Chabareni were so called from Cha-baren, Domus Arcæ:

to behave very inhumanly to all strangers, whom chance brought upon their coast; and seem to have been very refined in their cruelty. [65] Οι των ξενικων γυναικων ὡν ισως γενωνται κυριοι, τιτθας ωμας εσθιουσι, ταδε παιδια κατευωχουσι. They were probably the same, as the Thebeans, called [66] Tibareni, as we may judge both from the names, by which they were distinguished, and from their situation. Some of the Ethiopians are accused of these sad practices, and are accordingly ranked by Agathemerus among the [67] Cannibals. To say the truth, all those, among whom these customs prevailed, may be esteemed Ethiopians. They were all of the Cuthite race; and consequently of Ethiopic original. A society of priests resided in Africa, near a cavern, where they fabled, that the queen of the Lamii was [68] born. The place was situated in a valley, and surrounded with ivy and yew trees, being of an appearance very gloomy; and not ill adapted to the rites, which were practised by the Lamian priests. There is an

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which was undoubtedly the name of their chief place of residence.

[65] Steph. Byzant. Χαλδαριοι. See Aristotle: Ethicorum l. 7. c. 6. p. 118.

[66] Thebæi, Tibareni, Chabareni, have all a reference to the same worship of Theba, and Arene.

[67] Αιθιοπες Ανθρωποφαγοι. Geogr. Vet. Gr. vol. 2. p. 41.

[68] Αντρον τυμιγεθες, κιττω και σμιλακι συνηρεφες. Diod. Sic. l. 20. p. 778. See Vol. II. p. 268. of this work.

account of another temple in the same [69] country, which could never be seen twice. The reason undoubtedly was, that whoever came within the purlieus of it, was seized upon and slaughtered. The dread, that these practices caused among those, who lived within the verge of danger, has been the reason, why the accounts have been exaggerated: yet we may be well assured, that there were in general too good grounds for this imputation of cruelty. And however the great family, of which I have been treating, may in other respects appear beneficial and superior; they were in their rites and religion barbarous to the last degree.

It is true, that there are some accounts in their favour: at least some tribes of this family are represented to more advantage. The poet Chærilus has given a curious history of the Sacæan Cuthites; of whose ancestry he speaks with great honour, when he is describing the expedition of Alexander the Great.

[70] Μηλονομοι τε Σακαι, γενεᾳ Σκυθαι, αυταρ εναιον
Ασιδα πυροφορον· Νομαδων γε μεν ησαν αποικοι,
Ανθρωπων νομιμων·

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[69] Εν δε τη Λιζυη Διονυσου πολιν ειναι, ταυτην δε μη ενδιεχεσθαι δις τον αυτον εξευρειν. Strabo. l. 7. p. 459.

[70] Apud Strabonem. l. 7. p. 461. Anacharsis was supposed to have been of this family. Και τον Αναχαρσιν δε ανθρωπον σοφον παλαι ὁ Εφορος τουτου φησιν ειναι του γενους. Ibid.

Next march'd the Sacæ, fond of pastoral life,
Sprung from the Cuthite Nomades, who liv'd
Amid the plains of Asia, rich in grain.
They from the Shepherd race derived their source,
Those Shepherds, who in antient times were deem'd
The justest of mankind.

Yet we find, that these Sacæ by some have been represented as Cannibals: from whence we may perceive, that people of the same family often differed from one another. Of this Ephorus very justly took notice, as we learn from [71] Strabo. When these colonies came in aftertimes to be so degenerate, there were still some remains of their original sense and ingenuity here and there to be found. This was to be observed in the people of Bætica, as I have shewn from Strabo: and in the character exhibited of Cotys, king of Thrace. The like is taken notice of by Curtius in speaking of the Pontic Scythæ. [72] Scythis non, ut cæteris Barbaris, rudis et inconditus sensus est. Quidam eorum sapientiam capere dicuntur, quantumcunque gens capit semper armata.

There was another custom, by which they render-

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[71] Ἔφορος—ἐπι τελει φησιν, εἰναι των τε αλλων Σκυθων, και των Σαυροματων τας βιας ανομοιας. Τας μεν γαρ εἰναι χαλεπας, ὡστε και ανθρωποφαγειν· τας δε και των αλλων ζωων απεχεσθαι. Strabo. l. 7. p. 463.

[72] l. 7. c. 8.

ed themselves infamous, though in early times it was looked upon in a different light. They contracted an uniform habit of robbery and plunder: so that they lived in a state of piracy, making continual depredations. This was so common in the first ages, that it was looked upon with an eye of indifference, as if it were attended with no immorality and disgrace. Hence nothing was more common in those days, when a stranger claimed the rites of hospitality, than to ask him with great indifference, whether he was a pirate or a merchant. Oftentimes both characters were included in the same person. This is the question, which Nestor puts to Telemachus and Mentor, after he had afforded them a noble repast at Pylos. [73] *It is now*, says the aged prince, *time to ask our guests, who they be, as they have finished their meal. Pray, sirs, whence come you, and what business has brought you over the seas? Are you merchants destined to any port? or are you mere adventurers, and pirates, who roam the seas without any place of destination; and live by rapine and ruin?* The same question is asked by other persons in different places; and as the word in the original is Λῃστῆες, which signifies *robbers* or *pirates*, the Scholiast observes, that there was nothing opprobrious in that term, or culpable in the profession. On the contrary, piracy and plun-

[73] Homer. Odyss. Γ. v. 69.

der of old were esteemed very honourable. Thucydides speaks of Greece as devoted to this [74] practice in its early state. He says, that there was no security among the little principalities; and consequently no polity: as the natives were continually obliged to shift their habitations through the inroads of some powerful enemy. But this account of Thucydides relates to hostilities by land, between one clan and another, before the little provinces were in a settled state. But the depredations of which I principally speak, were effected by rovers at sea, who continually landed, and laid people under contribution upon the coast. Many migrations were made by persons, who were obliged to fly, and leave their wives, and effects behind them. Such losses were to be repaired, as soon as they gained a settlement. Hence, when they infested any country, and made their levies upon the natives, one of their principal demands was women: and of these the most noble and fair. Diodorus Siculus makes mention of one Butes in early times, who having been driven from his own country, seized upon one of the Cyclades, and resided there with his companions. [75] Και εν ταυτη κατοικουντα ληιζεσθαι πολλους των παραπλεοντων. σπανιζουτας δε γυναικων περιπλεοντας αρπαζειν απο της χωρας γυναικας. *Here he took up his habita-*

[74] L. 1. p. 2.
[75] L. 5. p. 432.

tion, and robbed many of the people, who sailed by that island. And as there was a great want of women among his associates, they used to pass over to the continent, and recruit themselves from thence. These depredations gave rise to the histories of princesses being carried away by banditti; and of kings daughters being exposed to sea-monsters. The monsters alluded to were nothing more than mariners and pirates, styled Cetei, Ceteni, and Cetones, from Cetus; which signified a sea-monster, or whale; and also a large ship. Κητος, ειδος νεως· Κητινη πλοιον μεγα ως Κητος. *By Cetus,* says Hesychius, *is signified a kind of ship. Cetine is a huge float, in bulk like a whale.* Andromeda, whom some mention, as having been exposed to a sea-monster, is said by [76] others to have been carried away in a Cetus, or ship. The history of Hesione is of the same purport: who was like Andromeda supposed to have been given up as a prey to a [77] Cetus. Palæphatus takes notice of the legend, and tries to give a

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[76] Conon apud Photium. c. 40. p. 447. The term Κητος was by the Dorians expressed Κατος, Catus. Among us, there are large unwieldy vessels called Cats, particularly in the north. Catwater, near Plymouth, signifies a place for vessels to anchor; a harbour for Κατοι, or ships.

[77] The history generally turns upon three articles. The women are guarded by a dragon, Δρακων, chained to a Petra, and exposed to a Cetus: all which are mistaken terms.

solution. According to the original story, [78] *there was a sea-monster Cetus, who used to frequent the Trojan coast: and if the natives made him a present of young women, he peaceably retired: otherwise he laid the country waste.* He imagines, that this Cetus was a king of the country, to whom this tribute was paid. But these demands were generally made; and this tribute levied by people of the sea. They landed, and exacted these contributions, as the history expressly tells us. In short, these sea-monsters were not so much the Ceti, as the Ceteans, and Cetonians, those men of honour, the pirates, of whose profession and repute we have made mention before. Some of them settled in Phrygia, and Mysia, where they continued the like practices, and made the same demands. Κητειοι, γενος Μυσων. *The Ceteans*, says Hesychius, *are the same people, as the Mysians.* Their history is undoubtedly alluded to by Homer in a passage, which Strabo looked upon as an enigma; and such a one as could hardly be [79] solved. The poet is speaking of Neoptolemus, whose great exploits are related by Ulysses to the shade of Achilles in the regions below. Among other things he seems to refer to some expedition

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[78] Περι τυ Κητυς ταδε λεγεται. ὡς τοις Τρωσιν εκ της θαλαττης εφοιτα. και ει μιν αυτῳ δοιεν κορας, απηρχετο· ει δη μη, την χωραν αυτων ελυμαινετο. De Incred. Histor. p. 90.

[79] Αινιγμα τι τιθεις ἡμιν μαλλον, ὁ λεγων τι σαφες. L. 13. p. 915.

made against the Mysians, who were allies of the Trojans, and their neighbours. These Neoptolemus invaded, and slew their king Eurypylus with many of his subjects, in revenge for an unjust tribute, which he had exacted of other people. Ulysses tells Achilles, that he cannot enumerate all the actions of his son,

[80] Αλλ' οιον τον Τηλεφιδην κατενηρατο χαλκῳ
Ἡρω' Ευρυπυλον, πολλοι δ' αμφ' αυτον ἑταιροι
Κητειοι κτεινοντο, γυναικων ἑινεκα δωρων.

However, says Ulysses, *one action I cannot pass over; which is his encounter with the hero Eurypylus, the son of Telephus; whom he slew: and at the same time made a great slaughter of the Ceteans.* And all this was done [81] γυναικων ἑινεκα δωρων, *on account of the unjust gifts, which they extorted, and which consisted in women.* The passage must have had in it some original obscurity, to have embarrassed a person of Strabo's learning. But when we know, that the Ceteans were people, who used to make these demands; and at the same time, that

[80] Odyss. Λ. v. 518.

[81] The term is here used adjectively. We meet with γυναικα μαζον, Ἑλλαδα στρατον, in the same mode of acceptation, as γυναικα δωρα.

the Mysians were [82] Ceteans: I think we may be assured of the true meaning of the poet. In short, these Mysians were Cuthites, and by race Nebridæ. [83] Νεβρωδ ὁ κυνηγος και γιγας, ὁ Αιθιοψ, ἐξ οὐ Μυσοι. *Nimrod*, says the author of the Chronicon Paschale, *that great hunter, and giant, the Ethiopian, was the person from whom the Mysians were descended.* The history of this family is in all parts similar, and consistent.

I have mentioned, that one of the most considerable colonies, which went from Babylonia, was that of the Indi, or Sindi; who have been further distinguished by the name of the eastern Ethiopians. They settled between the Indus and Ganges, and one of their principal regions was Cuthaia, rendered Cathaia by the Grecians. They traded in linen and other commodities, and carried on an extensive commerce with the provinces to the south. A large body of them passed inland towards the north, under the name of [84] Sacæ and Sacæans: who ranged very high, and got possession of Sogdiana, and the regions upon the Iaxartes. From thence they extended themselves eastward quite to the ocean. They were of the [85] Cuthic race, and represented as

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[82] Hesychius above.

[83] P. 28.

[84] Strabo. l. 7. p. 464.

[85] Σακαι. τους Σκυθας ὑτω φασι. Steph. Byzant.

great [86] archers: and their country was called [87] Sacaia and Cutha. The chief city was Sacastan, the Sacastana of [88] Isidorus Characenus. Of their inroads westward we have taken notice [89] before: for they sent out large bodies into different parts; and many of the Tartarian nations are descended from them. They got possession of the upper part of China, which they denominated Cathaia: and there is reason to think, that Japan was in some degree peopled by them. Colonies undoubtedly went into this country both from Sacaia, and the Indus.

The Chinese were the ancient Sinæ, and Seres; who were so famous for their silk. There is in Pausanias a very curious account of this people, and of their manufacture. The author has been speaking of the fine flax in Elis: and from thence takes an opportunity to digress, and to treat about the nature of silk. *The former*, says [90] Pausanias, *arise from seed: but those fine threads, of which the Seres*

Scytharum populi—Persæ illos Sacas in universum adpellavere. Pliny. l. 6. c. 18. p. 315.

[86] Τον μετ' επι πρoχωσιν Ιαξαρταο νεμονται
Τοξα Σακαι φορεοντες.—
Και Τοχαροι, Φρεξοι τι, και εθνεα βαρβαρα Σηρων. Dionys. Περιηγ. v. 749.

[87] By Agathemerus called Σακια. Geog. Vet. vol. 2. p. 44.

[88] Σακαραυα Σακων Σκυθων. Isidorus. Geog. Vet. vol. 2. p. 8.

[89] Vol. IV. of this Work.

[90] Pausan. l. 6. p. 519.

make use in weaving, are of a different original. In their country is produced an insect which the Grecians call, Σηρ, *but the natives have a different name for it.—This the Seres attend to with great care, making proper receptacles for its preservation both in summer, and winter.* He then proceeds to give a minute, but inaccurate, account of the silk-worm, and the manner of its spinning, which I omit: and concludes with telling us, that *the country, from whence this commodity comes, is an island named Seria, which lies in a recess of the Erythræan Sea. I have been told by some, that it is not properly the Erythræan Sea, but the river Sera, which incloses it, and forms an island similar to the Delta in Egypt. In short some insist, that it is not at all bounded by the sea. They say also, that there is another island called Seria: and those who inhabit this, as well as the islands Abasa, and Sacaia in the neighbourhood, are of the Ethiopian race. Others affirm, that they are of the Scuthic family, with a mixture of the Indic.* The history is in every part very true; and in it we have described two nations of the Seres; who were of an Ethiopic, Indic, and Scuthic family. The first was upon the great Erythræan, or Indian, Ocean; or rather upon the Ganges; being a province inclosed by the branches of that river. There were many islands so formed; and they are by geographers called collectively the [91] Delta of the

[91] Strabo. 15. p. 1026.

Ganges. The other region of the Seres was farther removed. It is the same as [92] China, though spoken of by Pausanias as an island: and it lies opposite to the islands of Japan, called here Abasa and Sacaia. Of the southern Seres upon the Ganges little notice has been taken: yet they will be found upon inquiry to have been a very notable people. They are mentioned by Orosius, who speaks of them as bordering upon the Hydaspes. The Seres of [93] Strabo are of the same part of the world. Marcianus Heracleota, in his [94] Periplus, places them rather to the east of the river, and makes them extend very high to the north, towards Casgar and Thebet. They were the same as the Indic Cathaians, who at different times got access into the lower regions of Seria, or China; and that particular province called now Iünan. The Sacæ likewise, who were of the same family, made large settlements in the upper provinces of that country; which from them was called both [95] Seria and Cathaia. From thence they passed over to the islands of Japan: one of which was from them named Sacaia. It still

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[92] Μετα συμπασαν Σκυθια εστιν ἡ Σηρικη. Agathemerus. l. 2. c. 6. p. 42. Geog. Vet. Gr. vol. 2.

[93] Strabo. l. 15. p. 1027.

[94] Geog. Græc. vol. 1. p. 28.

[95] Marcianus Heracleota places a nation of Seres to the north of the Sinenses; where now is the region of Chinese Cathaia. See Periplus. p. 29. Geog. Vet. vol. 1.

is so called; and the capital has the same name; and is famous for the worship of the God [96] Dai-Maogin. Father Lewis de Froes, in a letter quoted by [97] Kæmpfer, takes notice of a terrible earthquake both at Meaco, and in Sacaia. The names of the Deities in Japan and China, and the form of them, as well as the mythology, with which they are attended, point out the country from whence they originally came. The prevailing religion in each of these kingdoms, and the most antient, is the [98] Sinto, or religion of the Sindi. By these are signified the Indi, who first introduced this mode of worship, as is acknowledged by the Chinese themselves. One of the Mohammedan [99] travellers, whose account has been published by the learned Renaudot, assures us, that *the Chinese had no sciences:* that is, I suppose, none, but what were imported. *That their religion and most of their laws were derived from the Indi. Nay, they are of opinion, that the In-*

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[96] Purchas. vol. 5. p. 596. Dai-Maogin is probably Deus Magog, sive Deus Magus.

[97] L. 1. p. 104. notes.

Annum in urbe Sacaio moratus. Epistola Gasparis Vilelæ apud Maffæum. Vide Hist. Ind. p. 401. It occurs often in the letters of these missionaries.

[98] Ibid. p. 203. 204. It is called in China the religion of Fo.

[99] Account of China by Two Mohammedan Travellers in the Ninth Century, p. 36.

dians taught them the worship of idols; and consider them, as a very religious nation.

The people, who introduced these things in the upper region of this country, were the northern Seres, a branch of the Cathaian Sacæ. [100] Σηρες, εθνος βαρβαρον Σκυθικον. They were a different people from the Sinæ and Sinenses, though at last incorporated with them. The chief city of the country was occupied by them, which they called after their own name Sera; and they named the region Cathaia. Hence Ptolemy makes mention, [1] Σηρας, της των Σινων Μητροπολεως, *of Sera, the capital of the Sinæ:* so that in his time, and indeed long before, the Sinenses and Seres were looked upon as the same. In China the Deity upon the Lotos in the midst of waters has been long a favourite emblem, and was imported from the west. The insigne of the dragon was from the same quarter. The Cuthites worshipped Cham, the Sun; whose name they variously compounded. In China, most things which have any reference to splendour, and magnificence, seem to be denominated from the same object. Cham is said in the language of that country to signify any thing [2] *supreme.* Cum is a fine building, or [3] palace; simi-

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[100] Scholia in Dionys. v. 752.

[1] L. 7. c. 11.

[2] Bayer's Musæum Sinicum. vol. 2. p. 146.

[3] Ibid. p. 95.

lar to Coma of the Amonians. Cum is a [4] lord or master: Cham a [5] sceptre. Lastly, by Cham is signified a [6] priest, analogous to the Chamanim and [7] Chamerim of Cuthia, and Babylonia. The country itself is by the Tartars called [8] Ham. The cities Cham-ju, Campion, Compition, Cumdan, Chamul, and many others of the same form, are manifestly compounded of the sacred term Cham. Cambalu, the name of the antient metropolis, is the city of [9] Cham-Bal: and Milton styles it very properly, *Cambalu, seat of* [10] *Cathaian Chan.* By this is meant the chief city of the Cuthean Monarch; for Chan is a derivative of Cahen, a prince. It seems sometimes in China and Japan to have been expressed Quan, and Quano. The Lama, and Lamas, those priests of Thebet and Tartary, are of the same original, as the Lamii in the west.

As the religion of this people extended so far, we meet with many noble edifices in various parts of

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[4] Bayer's Musæum Sinicum. vol. 2. p. 102. The Tartarian princes are styled Cham.

[5] Ibid. p. 98.

[6] Ibid. p. 102.

[7] 2 Kings. c. 23. v. 5. Hosea. c. 10. v. 5.

[8] Herbert's Travels. p. 375.

[9] Civitas Cambalu, in provinciâ Cathai —— sonat autem Civitas Domini. Marcus Paulus Venetus. l. 2. c. 1.

[10] Chinam potissimam Cathaii partem. Kircher. China Illust. p. 60.

the east, which still afford evidences of their original. Two temples are taken notice of by Hamelton near Syrian in " Pegu; which he represents, as so like in structure, that they seemed to be built by the same model. One stood about six miles to the southwards, and was called Kiakiack, or *the God of Gods Temple.* The image of the Deity was in a sleeping posture, and sixty feet in length: and was imagined to have lain in that state of repose six thousand years. *The doors and windows,* says our author, *are always open, and every body has permission to see him. When he awakes, it is said, that the world will be annihilated.* This Temple stands on a high open spot of ground, and may easily be seen in a clear day eight leagues off. The other is situated in a low plain north of Syrian, and at about the same distance. It is called the Temple of Dagun, and the doors and windows of it are continually shut: so that none can enter but the priests. They will not tell of what shape the idol is; but only say, that is not of a human form. As soon as Kiakiack has dissolved the frame and being of the world, Dagon, or Dagun, will gather up the fragments, and make a new one.* I make no doubt, but the true name of the temple was Iäch-Iach, and dedicated to the same God, as the Iachusi in Japan. Mr. Wise takes notice of the Grecian exclamation

* " Hamelton's Account of the East Indies. vol. 2. p. 57.

to [12] Dionusus, when the terms [13] Iacche, O Iacche, were repeated: and he supposes, with great probability, that the Peguan name had a reference to the same Deity. It is very certain that the worship of Dionusus prevailed very early among the nations in the east. The Indians used to maintain, that his rites began first among them. Professor Bayer has shewn, that traces of his worship are still to be observed among the people of these parts: and particularly among the Tamuli of Tranquebar. [14] *They have a tradition that there was once a gigantic person named Maidashuren, who was born at Nisadabura, near the mountain Meru. He had the horns of a bull, and drank wine, and made war upon the*

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[12] See Wise's Treatise of the Fabulous Ages. p. 95.

[13] Ιακχε, ω Ιακχι. Aristoph. Ranæ. v. 318.

[14] Inde Tamuli narrant, Maidashuren fuisse aliquem dictum a Maidham et Ashuren, quasi Taurum Gigantem (Gigantas autem fingunt Herous suos fuisse) in Nisadabura urbe haud longe a Meru Monte natum, qui Taurina cornua gestârit; carnibusque pastus, tum aliarum animantium, tum vaccarum (quod in Indis summum scelus) et vino ad ebrietatem repleri solitus, Diis bellum intulerit. Ceterum in comitatu habuisse octo Pudam, seu gigantæos et malitiosos Dæmonas, ex familiâ Indicorum Pastorum, quos Kobaler, i. e. Pastores vocant: curru vectum ab octonis leonibus, aut leopardis, aut tigridibus, aut elephantis. Habetis Nysam, ubi natum ferunt Bacchum etiam Græcorum aliqui. Habetis Merum montem, unde Jovis Μηρος Luciani agitatus jocis: habetis Κοβαλους, et cornua et currum, et quicquid ad fabulam veteris Græciæ desideratis. Bayer. Hist. Bactriana. p. 2. 3.

Gods. He was attended by eight Pudam, who were gigantic and mischievous dæmons, of the family of those Indian Shepherds, called Kobaler. In this account we have a manifest reference to the history of Dionusus, as well as that of the Dionusians, by whom his rites were introduced. And we may perceive, that it bears a great resemblance to the accounts transmitted by the [15] Grecians. What are these Kobaler, who were descended from the Shepherds, but the same as the Cobali of Greece, the uniform attendants upon Dionusus: a set of priests, whose cruelty and chicanery rendered them infamous. [16] Κοβαλοι δαιμονες εισι τινες σκληροι περι τον Διονυσον· απατεωνες. *The Cobali were a set of cruel dæmons, who followed in the retinue of Dionusus. It is a term made use of for knaves and cheats.*

The second temple near Syrian is said, in the account above, to have been inaccessible to strangers: so that they could not tell, under what shape the Deity was represented. Thus much they were informed, that it was not human. As the Deity was called Dagun, we may easily conceive the hidden

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[15] Strabo mentions—Νυσσαιους τινας εθνος, και πολιν παρ' αυτοις Νυσσαν, και ορος το ὑπερ της πολεως ΜΗΡΟΝ. L. 15. p. 1008. Diodorus has a most curious account concerning Dionusus in India, and of the supposed place of his birth.—Ονομαζεσθαι της ορεινης ταυτης τον τοπον τουτον Μηρον. l. 2. p. 123.

[16] Scholia in Plutum Aristophanis. v. 279.

Κοβαλος, κακουργος, πανουργος. Hesych.

character, under which he was described. We may conclude, that it was no other than that mixed figure of a man and a fish, under which he was of old worshipped both in Palestine and Syria. He is expressed under this symbolical representation in many parts of [17] India; and by the Brahmins is called Wistnou and Vishnou. Dagon and Vishnou have a like reference. They equally represent the man of the sea, called by Berosus Oannes: whose history has been reversed by the Indians. They suppose, that he will restore the world, when it shall be destroyed by the chief God. But by Dagon is signified the very person, through whom the earth has been already restored, when it was in a state of ruin: and by whom mankind was renewed. Dagon and Noah I have shewn to be the same. Vish-Nou is represented, like Dagon, under the mixed figure of a man and a fish: or rather of a man, a princely figure, proceeding from a fish. The name of the district, near which the temples above stand, we find to be called Syrian: just as the region was named, where stood the temples of Atargatis and Dagon. Syrus, Syria, and Syrian, are all of the same purport, and signify Cœlestis, and Solaris, from [18] Sehor, the Sun.

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[17] Kircher's China. p. 158. Baldæus. Part 2. c. 1.

[18] Syria was supposed to have been denominated from Syrus, the offspring of the Sun.—Εκ Σιραπης και Απολλωνος Συρος. Diodorus. l. 4. p. 273. See p. 97. of this volume.

Many travellers have taken notice of the temples in India: which are of a wonderful construction; and to which there is scarce any thing similar in other parts of the world. The great traveller Gemelli mentions a pagoda in the island Salsette near Bombay, which is looked upon as a work of great antiquity. It is called the pagod of [18] Canorin: and a tradition prevails among the Indians, that it was constructed by some of the Giant race. It stands towards the east side of a mountain, which consists intirely of a hard rock: and out of this the various edifices are not built, but hewn. Round about are innumerable columns, and many inferior temples, covered with beautiful cupolas, together with figures of men and animals, all alike formed out of the solid rock. Some of the statues are completely carved: others are in basso relievo; and habited in a peculiar manner; so as to witness great antiquity. There are likewise many caves, and grottos, curiously contrived: and many large tanks of water, commodiously disposed over the area of the inclosure. The author is very copious in his description of this place; and of the pagodas, which are within it. And he assures us, towards the close, that all, which has been hitherto observed, is formed from the rock; without any separation, or addition: every figure still adhering at the basis, to

[18] See Churchil's Voyages. vol. 4. p. 194.

the mass, on which it stands. The whole is desolate, unfrequented, and difficult of access.

At no great distance from Salsette is an island of equal curiosity, called by the Portuguese Elephanto. It is described by our countryman[19] abovementioned, who supposes, *that it was thus named from the figure of an elephant, which is carved upon it, out of a great black stone, about seven feet in height. It is,* says he, *so like a living elephant, that at two hundred yards distance, a sharp eye might be deceived by its similitude. A little way from this stands an horse, cut out of a stone; but not so proportionable, and well shaped, as the elephant. There is a pretty high mountain standing in the middle of the island, shaped like a blunt pyramid; and about half way to the top is a large cave, that has two large inlets, which serve both for a passage into it, and for light. The mountain above it rests on large pillars, hewn out of a solid rock; and the pillars are curiously carved. Some have the figures of men about eight feet high in several postures; but exceedingly well proportioned, and cut. There is one, that has a Giant with four heads joined; and the faces looking from each other. He is in a sitting posture, with his legs and feet under his body. His right hand is above twenty*

[19] Hamelton's New Account of the East Indies. vol. 1. c. 22. p. 241.

inches. There are several dark rooms hewn out of the rock: and a fine spring of sweet water comes out of one room, and runs through the cave out at one of the inlets. I fired a fuzee into one of the rooms; but I never heard cannon or thunder make such a dreadful noise; which continued about half a minute; and the mountain seemed to shake. As soon as the noise was over, a large serpent appeared; which made us take to our heels, and get out of the cave at one door; and he in great haste went out at the other. I judged him to be about fifteen foot long: and two foot about: and these were all that I saw worth observation on that island. I asked the inhabitants of the place, who were all Gentoos, or Gentiles, about twenty in number, if they had any account, by history, or tradition, who made the cave, or the quadrupeds carved in stone: but they could give no account.

We have a like account of these pagodas in Purchas.—[21] In Salsette are two temples, or holes rather of pagodes, renowned in all India. One of which is cut from under a hill of hard stone, and is of compasse within about the bignesse of village of foure hundred houses; with many galleries or chambers of those deformed shapes, one higher than another, cut out of the hard rock. There are in all three hundred of these galleries. The other is

[21] Purchas from R. Fitch. vol. 5. p. 545.

in another place, of like matter and forme.—In a little island called Pory, there standeth a high hill, on the top whereof there is a hole, that goeth downe on the hill, digged and carved out of the hard rocke; within as large as a cloyster, round beset with shapes of elephants, tygres, Amazons, and other like work, workemanly cut, supposed to be the Chinois handy worke. But the Portugals have now overthrowne those idol-temples. Would God, they had not set new idols in their roome.

There are descriptions of many other antient edifices in India; some of which are of stupendous workmanship: but of all others, that which was visited by the curious traveller Thevenot, seems to be of the greatest extent, and of the most wonderful construction. It is called the pagod of [22] *Elora*: and stands near the city Aurangeabad, in the province of Balagate. He says, that his rout lay up a very rugged mountain, and very hard for the oxen, by which his carriage was drawn, to ascend: though the way, cut out of the rock, was almost every where as smooth, as if it were paved with free-stone. At the top, he discovered a spacious plain of well-cultivated land, with a great many villages and hamlets amidst gardens, and plenty of fruit trees and woods. The first part of this lovely plain was oc-

[22] Thevenot's Travels into the Indies. Part iii. c. 44. p. 74. Translation.

cupied by people of the Mohammedan persuasion. *A little farther westward,* says our author, *my Pions and I were above half an hour clambering down the rock into another very low plain. The first things I saw were some very high chapels; and I entered into a porch cut out of the rock, which is of grayish stone: and on each side of that porch, there is the gigantic figure of a man, cut out of the natural rock: and the walls are covered all over with other figures in relief, cut in the same manner. Having passed that porch, I found a square court, an hundred paces every way. The walls are the natural rock, which in that place is six fathom high, and perpendicular to the ground-plot; and cut as smooth and even, as if it were plaster smoothed with a trowel. Before all things I resolved to view the outside of that court: and I perceived, that these walls, or rather the rock, hangs: and that it is hollowed underneath: so that the void space below makes a gallery almost two fathoms high, and four or five broad. It hath the rock for a basis: and the whole is supported only by a single row of pillars cut in the rock; and distant from the extremity of the gallery about the length of a fathom: so that it appears as if there were two galleries. Every thing there is exceeding well cut: and it is really a wonder to see so great a mass in the air, which seems so slenderly underpropped, that one can hardly help shuddering at first entering into it.*

In the middle of the court there is a chapel, whose walls, inside and outside, are covered with figures in relief. They represent several sorts of beasts, as griffons, and others, cut in the rock. On each side of the chapel there is a pyramid, or obelisk, larger at the basis, than that at Rome: but they are not sharp pointed. They have some characters upon them which I do not understand. The obelisk on the left hand has by it an elephant, as big as the life, cut out of the rock, as every thing else is: but his trunk has been broken off. At the farther end of the court I found two staircases cut in the rock; and I went up with a little Bramin, who seemed to be a knowing person. Being at the top, I perceived a kind of area (if the space of a league and an half, or two leagues, may be called an area) full of stately tombs, chapels, and temples, which they call pagodas, cut in the rock.

I entered into a great temple built in the rock. It has a flat roof, and is adorned with figures within, as the walls of it also are. In this temple are eight rows of pillars in length, and six in breadth: which are about a fathom distant from each other. The temple is divided into three parts: —in the middle of the third, or extream, part, upon a very high basis, there is a gigantic idol, with a head as big as a drum; and his other parts proportionable. All the walls of the temple are covered with gigantic figures in relief, and on the outside, all round the temple, are a great many

little chapels, adorned with figures of an ordinary bigness in relief, representing men and women embracing one another.

Leaving this spot, I went into several other temples of a different structure, built also from the rock; and full of figures, pilasters, and pillars. I saw three temples one over another; which have but one front all three; but it is divided into three stories, supported by as many rows of pillars: and in every story there is a great door for the temple. The staircases are cut out of the rock. I saw but one temple which was arched: and therein I found a room, whereof the chief ornament was a square bason. It was cut in the rock, and full of spring water, which arose within two or three feet of the brim of the bason. There are a vast number of pagods all along the rock: indeed there is nothing else to be seen for above two leagues. He concludes with saying, that he made diligent inquiry among the natives, about the origin of these wonderful buildings: and *the constant tradition was, that all these pagodas, great and small, with all their works, and ornaments, were made by Giants: but in what age they could not* [23] *tell.*

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[23] These pagodas have been since visited by that curious traveller and Orientalist, M. Anquetil Du Perron. In his treatise called Zend-Avesta, a very precise account may be found of these buildings, and of their dimensions; also the history, and pur-

Many of these antient structures have been attributed to Ram-Scander, or Alexander the Great: but there is nothing among these stately edifices, that in the least savours of Grecian workmanship: nor had that monarch, nor any of the princes after him, opportunity to perform works of this nature. We have not the least reason to think, that they ever possessed the country: for they were called off from their attention this way by feuds, and engagements nearer home. There is no tradition of this country having been ever conquered, except by the fabulous armies of [24] Herdules and Dionusus. What has led people to think, that these works were the operation of Alexander, is the similitude of the name Ramtxander. To this person, they have sometimes been attributed. But Ramtxander was a Deity, the supposed son of Bal; and he is introduced among the personages who were concerned in the incarnations of [25] Vishnou.

The Temple of Elora, and all the pagodas of which I have made mention, must be of great antiquity, as the natives cannot reach their æra. They were undoubtedly the work of the Indo-Cuthites,

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port, of the various representations, according to the notions of the Brahmins. See Zend-Avesta, vol. 1. p. 234.

[24] Strabo. l. 15. p. 1007.

[25] Kircher's China. p. 158.

who came so early into these parts; and of whose history I have treated at large. They came hither under the name of Indi and Sindi: also of Arabians, and Ethiopians. And that these structures were formed by them will appear from many circumstances; but especially from works of the same magnificence, which were performed by them in other places. For scarce any people could have effected what has been here described, but a branch of that family, which erected the tower in Babylonia, the walls of Balbec, and the pyramids of Egypt.

Marco Polo was in Cathaia in the time of the Tartar Emperor Cublai Chan: and he speaks of the chief city Campion, as of great extent; and mentions a most magnificent temple. He [26] says, that the idols were made of stone, and wood; and some of clay: and there were several overlaid with gold; and very artificially wrought. Among these some were so great, that they contained ten paces in length; and were placed upon the earth in an attitude, as if they lay upright. Near to these stood several smaller idols, which seemed to pay obeysance to the [27] larger: and they appeared all to

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[26] Purchas. vol. 3. c. 4. p. 77. See Kircher's China. part 3. c. 2. 3.

[27] This is not unlike the description of the God Nilus, as we meet with it in Gruter, Sandys, and others.

be greatly revered. Hadgi Mehemet, a great traveller, who discoursed with Ramusio, told him, that he had been at [28] Campion; and mentioned the largeness of the temples. In one of these he saw the statues of a man, and a woman, stretched on the ground: each of which was one piece, forty feet long, and gilded. Campion is probably the same city, which is alluded to by Marco: the same too, which the antients called Sera, and the moderns Nankin: for the names of places in China are continually changing. In the account of Sha Rokh's embassy to [29] Cathaia, mention is made of a city Kàm-ju: and of a temple, whose dimensions were very large. The author says, that each side was five hundred kes or cubits. In the middle lay an idol, as if it were asleep; which was fifty feet in length. Its hands and feet were three yards long; and the head twenty-one feet in circumference. There were others at his back, and over his head, about a cubit high: and placed in such attitudes, that they seemed alive. The great image was gilt all over; and held one hand under his head; and the other was stretched along down his thigh. They called it Samonifu. The Babylonians, and Egyptians, and all of the same great family, used to take a pleasure in forming gigantic figures; and exhibiting other

[28] Astley's Collection. vol. 4. p. 639.

[29] From Ramusio. See Astley's Collection. vol. 4. p. 624.

representations equally stupendous. Such were the colossal statues at Thebes; and the sphinx in the plains of Cocome. The statue erected by [30] Nebuchadnezzar in the plains of Dura, was in height threescore Babylonish cubits. It was probably raised in honour of Cham, the Sun; and perhaps it was also dedicated to the head of the Chaldaic family; who was deified, and reverenced under that title. Marcellinus takes notice of a statue of Apollo, named [31] Comeiis; which in the time of the Emperor Verus was brought from Seleucia to Rome. This related to the same deity, as the preceding. We may also infer, that this temple at Kam-ju, was erected to Cham, the Sun, whom the people worshipped under the name of Samonifu.

An account is given in [32] Purchas of a Colossus in Japan, made of copper; which was seen by Captain Saris, an Englishman, at a place called Dabis. It represented a man of immense stature, sitting upon his heels. The same person saw at [33] Meaco, a Temple, equal in extent to St. Paul's in London, westward of the choir: and in it an idol larger than the former, which reached to the roof of the build-

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[30] Daniel. c. 23. v. 1.

[31] Simulacrum *Comei* Apollinis, avulsum sedibus, perlatumque Romam. Marcellinus. l. 23. p. 287.

[32] Purchas. vol. 5. p. 595. Saris was in Japan anno 1613.

[33] Ibid.

ing. These were the statues of Xaca and Amida, two of the chief Deities of Japan. Herbert takes notice of the temples, and Deities above: and says, that they were called [34] Mannadies. One of these colossal statues was erected by the Emperor Tychozama, the chair, or throne, of which idol, was seventy feet high, and eighty wide. He speaks also of the statue at Dabis; which, though in a sitting posture, was in height twenty-four feet. They were both of copper; or, as he terms it, auricalc.

It is remarkable, that in Japan, the priests and nobility have the title of [35] Cami. The Emperor Quebacondono, in a letter to the Portuguese viceroy, 1585, tells him, [36] *that Japan is the kingdom of Chamis; whom,* says he, *we hold to be the same as Scin, the origin of all things.* By [37] Scin is probably signified San, the Sun; who was the same as Cham, rendered here Chamis. The laws of the country are spoken of as the laws of Chamis: and we are told by Kæmpfer, that all the Gods were styled either [38] Sin, or Cami. The founder of the empire is said to have been Tensio Dai Sin, or *Tensto the God of Light.* Near his Temple was a

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[34] Herbert's Travels. p. 374. Similar to Μην ἀδης of the Grecians, whose priests were, Μαινάδες, the Mænades.

[35] Kæmpfer. l. 2. p. 153.

[36] Organtinus Brixiensis. See Purchas. vol. 3. p. 324.

[37] It was probably pronounced Schin.

[38] Kæmpfer above.

cavern, religiously visited, upon account of his having been once hid: when no sun, nor stars appeared. He was esteemed the fountain of day, and his Temple was called the Temple of [39] Naiku. Near this cavern was another Temple; in which the Canusi, or priests, shewed an image of the Deity, sitting upon a cow. It was called Dainits No Ray, *the Great Representation of the* [40] *Sun.*

One of their principal Gods is Iakusi; similar to the Iacchus of the west. Kæmpfer says, that he is the [41] Apollo of the Japanese: and they describe him as the Egyptians did Orus. His Temple stands in a town called Minnoki: and Iachusi is here represented upon a gilt Tarate flower: which is said to be the [42] nymphæa palustris maxima; or faba Ægyptiaca of Prosper Alpinus. One half of a large scallop shell is like a canopy placed over him; and his head is surrounded with a crown of rays. I think, that we may perceive, to whom the Temple of Naiku was dedicated: and from what person the town of Minnoki was named, where Iachusi was

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[39] Kæmpfer. l. 3. p. 231.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid. l. 5. p. 493.

[42] Ibid. Kæmpfer mentions the image of Amida in Siam, which appeared in an upright posture upon the Tarate flower. He calls it in this passage the Nymphæa magna incarnata. l. 1. p. 30.

worshipped. They have also an idol Menippe, much reverenced in different parts. It certainly relates to the same person; and is a compound of two terms already fully explained. [43]

Kæmpfer is a writer of great credit, who was for some [44] time in these parts. He certifies what has been above said by Saris about the idols of this country. He saw the Temple of Dabys, which he more truly renders [45] Daibod. He had a sight of it in his first embassy to Jedo; which city he visited twice. He speaks of the buildings as very spacious: and [46] *at the beginning of the avenue towards it on each side stood the statue of an hero in black, near four fathoms high, and almost naked, having only a loose piece of drapery around him. He had the face of a lion: and was in other respects well enough proportioned. His height was four fathoms; and he stood on a pedestal of one fathom.—The Temple of Daibod was opposite to the gate, and in the middle of the court. It was by much the loftiest building, that we had seen in Japan: and had a double bended stately roof.—The pillars were ex-*

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[43] Μην Ιππα. See Vol. III. of this work.

[44] He went to Japan in the year 1690.

[45] The same is described by Lewis Almeida, who expresses the name still more precisely, Dai-But. See Epistolæ Selectæ Soc. Jes. apud Maffæum Hist. Indic. p. 428. He also gives a description of the Temple.

[46] L. 4. p. 553.

cessive large; and at least a fathom and a half thick. The idol was gilt all over; and of an incredible size; insomuch that two mats could lie in the palm of his hand. It was sitting, after the Indian manner, cross-legged, on a Tarate flower, which was supported by another flower. The leaves of this stood upwards, by way of ornament; and they were both raised about two fathoms from the floor. [47] Dai, in the antient language of the eastern countries, signified *Deus*, and *Divus*, any thing divine. By Dai-Bod was meant the God Budha; whose religion was styled the Budso: and which prevailed greatly upon the Indus, and Ganges. *The origin of this religion*, says [48] Kæmpfer, *must be looked for among the Brahmins. I have strong reasons to believe, both from the affinity of the name, and the very nature of this worship, that the author was the same person whom the Brahmins call Budha, and believe to have been the essential part of Wistnou. The Chinese and Japanese*

[47] According to Kæmpfer, l. 2. p. 159. Dai signifies a Lord, or Prince. Dius and Divus were applied in the same manner by the Greeks and Romans: yet they were titles, which properly related to the Gods: and Dai did so likewise. This is apparent from its being always annexed to the names of Deities.

Dai is the same as Dairy, the title of the ecclesiastical monarch. Ibid.

In another part of his work, he says, that Dai signified *great*: Sin, and Cami, *a God, or Spirit*. l. 3. p. 226. But in none of these expositions do I believe him to be precise.

[48] L. 3. p. 241.

call him Buds and Siaka. The people of[49] *Siam represent him under the form of a Moor in a sitting posture, and of a prodigious size. His skin is black, and his hair curled:* by which, I suppose, is meant woolly: *and the images about him are of the same complexion.* He was not the author of the religion, as our traveller supposes: but the great object, to which the worship was directed. He was supposed by the [50] Brahmins to have had neither father, nor mother. By Budha we are certainly to understand the idolatrous symbol, called by some nations Buddo; the same as Argus and Theba. In the mythology transmitted concerning it, we may see a reference both to the machine itself, and to the person preserved in it. In consequence of which we find this person also styled Bod, Budha, and Buddo; and in the west Butus, Battus, and Bœotus. He was said by the Indians not to have been born in the ordinary way; but to have come to light indirectly through the side of [51] his mother. By Clemens of [52] Alexandria, he is called Bouta: and in the history of this person, however varied, we may perceive a relation to the Arkite Deity of the Sea, called Poseidon: also to Arcalus, and Dio-

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[49] Ibid. l. 1. p. 36. They call him Siaka and Sacka. Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Socratis Ecclesiast. Hist. l. 1. c. 7.

Buddam per virginis latus narrant exortum.

Retramnus de Nativitate Christi. c. 3.

[52] Strom. l. 1. p. 359.. The MSS. have Βουτα and Βουτας

nusus; styled Bœotus and Thebanus. Kæmpfer has a curious history of a Deity of this sort, called [53] Abbuto; whose Temple stood in the province of Bungo upon the sea-shore, near the village of Toma. *About a quarter of a German mile, before you come to this village, stands a famous Temple of the God Abbuto; which is said to be very eminent for miraculously curing many inveterate distempers: as also for procuring a wind, and good passage. For this reason, sailors, and passengers, always tie some farthings to a piece of wood, and throw it into the sea, as an offering to this Abbuto, in order to obtain a favourable wind.* He moreover tells us, that they call him Abbuto Quano Sama, or *the Lord God Abbuto.* But the title more precisely signifies, if I may form a judgment, *Abbuto the Lord of Heaven.* The same Deity, but under a different name, was worshipped in China. He is mentioned by Pierre Jarrige, who calls him the God Camassono. [54] On appelle l'Idole Camassono: et ceux, qui passent par là, redoutent fort cet Idole; et de peur, qu'il ne mette leurs navires à fond, ils luy offrent, quand ils sont vis à vis de l'isle, ou du riz, (qu'ils jettent en la mer) ou de l'huile, ou d'autre chose, qu'ils portent. The Apis, Mneuis, and Anubis of Egypt, have been often mentioned, and

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[53] L. 5. p. 468. Abbutus, pater Butus sive Bœotus.

[54] Hist. des Indes. l. 5, c. 51.

explained; as well as the Minotaur of Crete. The same hieroglyphics occur in Japan: and we are informed by [55] Marco Polo, that the inhabitants worship idols in different shapes. Some have the head of an ox; some of a swine; and others the head of a dog. The most common representation in this country is that of [56] Godso Ten Oo, or *the Oxheaded Prince of Heaven.*

Lewis Almeida, and other missionaries, give a noble account of Japonese temples: and describe their situation, as uncommonly pleasing. Some of them resided at Meaco, where they visited the pagodas of Casunga, Cocuba, Facumano, and Daibut. They speak of them as very large, and happily disposed, being situated amid trees of various sorts, particularly planes and cedars: and in places abounding with streams of running water, and lakes of great [57] extent. The subordinate temples in the vicinity, and the houses of the Bonzees, are sheltered by groves. The court before the chief building is generally paved with black and white stones; and the avenue is ornamented with trees, and statues. At the Temple of Facumano, among other things,

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[55] Colunt Viri Zipangrii varia idola: quorum quædam habent bovis caput; quædam caput porci, et quædam caput canis. Marcus Paulus Venetus apud Kircher. China Illust. p. 143.

[56] Kæmpfer. l. 5. p. 418.

[57] See Letters of the Missionaries, particularly of Lewis Almeida. Maffæi Hist. Indic. p. 427. also de Frois. p. 441.

were observed a number of fine citron trees; and at equal distances between each were [58] roses and other flowers in large vases of porcelaine. The Temple itself was richly ornamented; and abounded with costly lanterns of a factitious metal gilded: which were beautifully contrived. They appeared in great numbers, and burned all night, making a splendid appearance. About the temples, there were seen herds of deer, and flocks of doves: and the latter were so tame as to suffer themselves to be handled: for they were never injured, being sacred to the Deity of the place. All the apartments are represented as very neat and elegant: and the *Bonzees*, to whom they belong, very numerous. They keep their heads and beards closely shorn: and go very rich in their attire. Almeida had a view of some of them at the temple of Casunga; but it was in a part so sacred, that he was not permitted to come near. Ex hâc Bonziorum domo porticus admodum pulchra ad usque adyta pertinet fani; quo nemini patet ingressus, nisi qui ipsius loci antistites sunt: quorum vidimus aliquot intra sedentes, togis amplis e serico indutos, tectosque capita pileis plus dodrantem altis. The Budso temples upon the mountains were still more romantic and beautiful.

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[58] Fruteta—jucunda rosarum et florum varietate commista. Ibid. p. 428.

In my third volume I took notice, that the Ark was represented under the symbol of an egg, called the mundane egg; which was exposed to the rage of Typhon. It was also described under the figure of a Lunette, and called Selene, the Moon. The person, by whom it was framed, and who through its means was providentially preserved, occurs under the character of a steer, and the machine itself under the semblance of a cow or heifer. We have moreover been told, that it was called Cibotus: which Clemens of Alexandria calls Thebotha. Epiphanius mentions it by the name of [59] Idaal Baoth; and says, that according to an eastern tradition, a person named Nun was preserved in it. The horse of Neptune was another emblem; as was also the hippopotamus, or river-horse. The people of Elis made use of the tortoise to the same [60] purpose, and represented Venus as resting upon its back. I repeat these things, because I think, that some traces of these hieroglyphics may be observed in Japan: which were certainly carried thither by the Indic Ethiopians. They introduced the worship of their deified ancestors, and the events of these first ages, which were couched under these well known symbols.

In the account given of the Dutch embassies to Japan, we have a description of several deities and

[59] Epiphanius. Heræs. l. 1. p. 78.
[60] Pausanias, l. 6. p. 515.

temples, as they occurred to the persons concerned in their journeys to Jeddo. Among other things, there is a curious description of a temple, named Dai-Both, at Meaco: which seems to have been the same, which is called Daibod by Kæmpfer. The account is so particular, that I will give it in the words of the author. And I will present it to the reader at large, as there are many things of consequence here observed, which have been omitted by other writers.

[61] Entre les plus beaux bâtimens de la ville de Miaco, on doit compter celui de Dayboth. Il y a peu de temples au Japon et plus grands et plus beaux. La premiére porte est gardée par deux figures effroyables, armées de javelots dont ils semblent se menacer. De là on passe dans la cour, tout autour de laquelle régne une galerie soutenuë de piliers de pierre; au haut desquels sont enchassées des boëtes transparentes, d'où rejalit certain éclat dont on est ébloui. La seconde porte est gardée par deux lions de pierre, au milieu desquels il faut passer pour entrer dans le temple. Le premier objet, qui se présente, est une Statuë, qui bien qu' assise les jambes en croix, touche neanmoins à la voute. La matiére, dont elle est faite,

[61] Ambassades memorables de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales des Provinces Unies, vers les Empereurs du Japon. Amsterd. 1680. tom. 1. p. 206.

est un certain bois couvert de plâtre, puis de cuivre doré, à l'épreuve, dit-on, de toutes sortes d'accidens. Ses cheveux sont d'un noir crépu à la maniére des Maures; et ses mains seules sont plus grandes que n'est un homme de médiocre taille, encore sont-elles petites à proportion du reste du corps. Elle ressemble à une femme toute environnée de rayons, entre lesquels sont representés de petits Cherubins ardens; et un peu plus bas des deux côtés, quantité de figures faites comme les Saints de Rome. Pendant que nos ambassadeurs visitoient ce temple, où ils étoient entrés en carosse suivis d'une foule de peuple, que la nouveauté attiroit, quatre de leur trompettes faisoient à la porte des fanfares, que les Japonois admiroient. L'autel de la statuë est un peu élevé de terre, entouré de lampes toûjours ardentes; et de quantité de Pélerins, qui vont incessamment y faire leurs priéres, et leurs offrandes. La devotion de ce peuple est telle, qu'il prie d'ordinaire prosterné, et le visage contre terre, ou dans une posture aussi humiliée que celle-là.

De ce temple les ambassadeurs passérent dans celui du Beuf, ainsi nommé, parce-qu'il s'y voit un beuf d'or massif, ayant sur le dos une tumeur extraordinaire, et au cou un collier aussi d'or, et tout couvert de pierreries. Il est élevé sur un pilastre, dont la superficie est mêlée de gravier et de terre. Il enfonce les cornes dans un œuf toûjours nageant dans l'eau, ce que les prêtres Japonois expliquent comme il suit.

Le monde, disent-ils, avant la creation étoit enfermé dans un œuf, dont la coque etoit de métail. Cet œuf flotta long-temps sur l' eau, et fut enfin par succession de temps enveloppé d' une croûte épaisse, mêlée de terre et de gravier, elevée du fond de la mer par la vertu de la lune. Quoique ce rempart fût assés dur pour resister aux injures du temps, et de l' air, il n' étoit pas neanmoins à l' épreuve de tout autre accident. Le Beuf l'ayant trouvé, il le heurta de telle sorte, qu 'il le cassa: et en même temps le monde en sortit. Le Beuf tout essoufflé de l'effort, qu 'il venoit de faire, échauffa tout l'air d'alentour, qui pénétra une citrouille, dont en même temps il sortit un homme. A cause de cela les Bonzes nomment la citrouille Pou, et le premier homme Pourang, c' est-à-dire, citrouille parce-qu' il lui doit sa naissance.

We may here perceive, that they speak of the renewal of the world at the Deluge, as the real creation, which I have shewn to have been a common mistake in the histories of this event. And though the story is told with some variation, yet in all the circumstances of consequence it accords very happily with the mythology of Egypt, Syria, and Greece. It matters not how the emblems have by length of time been misinterpreted: we have the mundane egg upon the waters; and the concomitant symbol of the moon; and the egg at last opened by the assistance of the sacred steer; upon which the

world issues forth to day. Instead of the roia, or pomegranate, we find the melon or pumpkin, substituted; as abounding equally with seed, and alike adapted to represent the rudiments of all things; which were supposed to be inclosed, and secreted during the time of the Deluge. The author proceeds afterwards to mention the great veneration paid in these parts to the ox and cow: and to give a further account of the religion. And speaking of the former, he says, that nobody dares to injure them. C'est d'où vient la coutume en pleusieurs endroits du Japon de deffendre sur peine de la vie de tuer un de ces animaux; et peut-être aussi celle, qu'ont les sujets du Grand Mogol, d'aller a[62] Nakarkut pour adorer la Vache dans un beau temple que ces peuples lui ont bâti. Ce temple de Matta (c'est ainsi qu'ils nomment la Vache) est un des plus superbes, et des plus beaux de toutes les Indes. La voute, et le pavé, sont tout couvers de lames d'or, et l'autel de perles, et de diamans. He mentions a temple in Japan, which was dedicated to the Universal Creator. The image is described as sitting upon a tree, which rested upon the back of a tortoise. Its hair was black, and woolly; and the head was ornamented with a pyramidical crown. This Deity had four hands. In the two left he held

[62] Nacho-Arcet. Noachus-Architis: or Necho-Architis, Rex Archæus.

the flower Iris, and a ring of gold. In the two other were seen a sceptre, and an urn of water, which was continually flowing. The account given of the tree is remarkable. [63] Le tronc de l'arbre, qui la soutient, est de metail; et, au rapport des Bonzes, c' est où les semences de toutes choses étoient enfermées avânt la création. One Deity of the Japonese was [64] Canon, the reputed Lord of the Ocean, of whom they had many temples. He was represented in an erect posture, crowned with a flower, and coming out of the mouth of a cetus. Opposite is a person kneeling in the shell of a Nautilus, which seems to be stranded upon the summit of some rocks. This figure is likewise described with the features and complexion of a Moor, and with the same crisp-locks. Though the Indians seem in general to have had straight hair; yet their deities are often described as woolly. Also among the Siamese, both Budha, and Amida, is represented under a character, which approaches to that of a [65] Negro. We are informed by the writer of the [66] Dutch Embassy, that black in Japan is a colour

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[63] Ibid. p. 207.

[64] Ibid. p. 65. 67.

[65] Kæmpfer. l. 1. p. 36. 38. and Ambassades memorables.

[66] Ambassades memi p. 207. Lewis de Froës mentions the temple of Amida at Meaco: et circa statuam Amidæ saltantes Æthiopas. Ibid p. 439.

of good omen. This is extraordinary: for the Japonese are by no means black: nor has their hair any tendency to wool. Those, who imported this notion, and framed these figures, copied their own complexion, and the complexion of their ancestors. The statues abovementioned are said to represent Ethiopians: and they were certainly people of that family, the Indo-Cuthitæ, who came into these parts, and performed what is mentioned. But their national marks have been worn out by length of time; and their mixing with the people, who were the original inhabitants.

I have taken notice of the Deity of the Japonese, named Canon, who is described as proceeding from the mouth of a fish. He is represented in the same manner by the natives of India, and named Vishnou, and Macauter: and he is to be found in other parts of the east. It is probable, that the image of Dagon, as well as that of Atargatus, did not consist of two forms blended together; but, like the above, was a representation of a person coming out of a cetus. Father Boushet [67] mentions a tradition among the Indians concerning a flood in the days of Vish-

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[67] La difficulté étoit de conduire la barque.—Le Dieu Vichnou eut soin d'y pourvoir; car sur le champ il se fit poisson, et il se servit de sa queuë, comme d'un gouvernail, pour diriger le vaisseau. Lettres Edifiantes IX. Recueil. p. 21. All these legends took their rise from hieroglyphics misinterpreted.

now, which covered the whole earth. It is moreover reported of him, that seeing the prevalence of the waters he made a float; and being turned into a fish, he steered it with his tail. This person, in the account of the Banians by Lord is called [68] Menow, which should certainly be expressed Men-Now. It is said, that in the Shaster of this people a like history is given of the earth being overwhelmed by a deluge, in which mankind perished. But the world was afterwards renewed in two persons, called Menow, and Ceteroupa. Vishnow is described under many characters, which he is said at times to have assumed. One of these, according to the Brahmins of Tanjour, was that of Rama Sami. This undoubtedly is the same as Sama Rama of Babylonia, only reversed: and it relates to that great phænomenon, the Iris; which was generally accompanied with the Dove; and held in veneration by the Semarim.

As the history of China is supposed to extend upwards to an amazing height: it may be worth while to consider the first æras in the Chinese annals, as they are represented in the writings of Japan. [69] For the Japonese have preserved histories of China: and by such a collation, I believe, no small light may be obtained towards the discovery of some im-

[68] Lord of the Banians. c. 6. 7.

[69] See Zend-Avesta of Mons. du Perron. vol. i. p. 250. notes.

portant truths. Hitherto it has not been observed, that such a comparison could be made.

In the histories of this country, the first monarch of China is named [70] Fóki: the same, whom the Chinese call Fohi, and place at the head of their list. This prince had, according to some, the body, according to others the head, of a serpent. If we may believe the Japonese historians, he began his reign above twenty-one thousand years before Christ. The second Chinese emperor was Sin [71] Noo; by the people of China called Sin Num: and many begin the chronology of the country with him. He is supposed to have lived about three thousand years before Christ: consequently there is an interval of near eighteen thousand years between the first emperor and the second: a circumstance not to be credited. The third, who immediately succeeded to Sin Noo, was Hoam Ti. In this account we may, I think, perceive, that the Chinese have acted like the people of Greece, and other regions. The histories, which were imported, they have prefixed to the annals of their nation; and adopted the first personages of antiquity, and made them monarchs in their own country. Whom can we suppose Fohi, with the head of a serpent to have been, but the great founder of all kingdoms, the father of mankind?

[70] Kæmpfer. l. 2. p. 145.
[71] Ibid. p. 146.

They have placed him at an immense distance, not knowing his true æra. And I think, we may be assured, that under the character of [72] Sin Num, and Sin Noo, we have the history of Noah: and Hoam Ti was no other than Ham. According to Kæmpfer Sin Noo was of exactly the same character as [73] Serapis of Egypt. *He was an husbandman, and taught mankind agriculture; and those arts, which relate to the immediate support of life. He also discovered the virtues of many plants: and he was represented with the head of an ox; and sometimes only with two horns. His picture is held in high esteem by the Chinese.* Such is the history of this supposed monarch, according to Kæmpfer: and he might well think, that in Sin Noo he saw the character of Serapis: for this personage was no other than [74] Sar-Apis, the great father of mankind; the same as Men-Neuas of Egypt; the same also as Dionusus, and Osiris. By Du Halde he is called Chin Nong, and made the next monarch after Fohi. The Chinese accounts afford the same history, as has

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[72] Sin Num, or Sin Noum, is very similar to Noamus: by which name the Patriarch was sometimes called. Num in some degree corresponds with the Nun of Irenæus, and Epiphanius; who is also mentioned by Lilius Gyraldus. Fuit etiam Nun, quem ad Jaadal Baoth natum prodiderunt. Syntag. 1. p. 72.

[73] Kæmpfer. l. 2. p. 146.

[74] This was the true name of the Deity. Sar-Apis signifies Dominus, vel Magnus Pater: also Pater Taurinus.

been given above. They mention him [75] *as a person very knowing in agriculture, who first made the earth supply the wants of his people. He invented the necessary implements of husbandry; and taught mankind to sow five sorts of grain. From hence he was called Chin-Nong, or the Divine husbandman.* Whether the etymology be true, I much doubt: the history however is very curious, and corresponds with the Japonese account in all the principal articles. As the family of Noah consisted of eight persons inclusive, there have been writers, who have placed some of them in succession; and supposed, that there were three or four persons, who reigned between Sin Noo, and Hoam. But Du Halde [76] says, that in the true histories of the country the three first monarchs were Fohi, Chin Nong, and Hoam, whom he styles Hoang Ti. To these, he says, the arts and sciences owe their invention and progress. Thus we find, that those, who were heads of families, have been raised to be princes: and their names have been prefixed to the lists of kings; and their history superadded to the annals of the country. It is further observable, in the accounts given of these supposed kings, that their term of life, for the first five or six generations, cor-

[75] Du Halde's China. vol. 1. p. 272. octavo.

[76] Ibid. p. 273.

responds with that of the [77] Patriarchs after the flood: and decreases in much the same proportion.

The history of Japan is divided into three æras, which consist of Gods, Demigods, and [78] mortals. The person, whom the natives look upon as the real founder of their monarchy, is named [79] Syn Mu; in whose reign the Sinto religion, the most antient in the country, was introduced. It was called Sin-sju, and Chami-mitsa, from Sin and Chami, the Deities, which were the objects of [80] worship. At this time, it is said, that six hundred foreign idols were brought into Japan, and first worshipped in [81] Chumano. To the Sinto religion was afterwards added the Budso, together with the worship of Amida. This Deity they commonly represented with the head of a [82] dog; and esteemed him the guardian of mankind. This religion was more complicated than the former; and abounded with hieroglyphical representations, and mysterious rites. It is the same, which I have termed the Arkite idolatry: wherein the sacred steer and cow were venerated: the Deity was represented upon

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[77] Du Halde. vol. 1. p. 285. 286. and Jackson. Chronol. vol. 2. p. 435. 438. 439.

[78] Kæmpfer. l. 2. p. 143.

[79] Ibid. l. 2. p. 159.

[80] L. 3. p. 204.

[81] Ibid. p. 159.

[82] Ambassades memorables, &c. l. 1. p. 102.

the lotus, and upon a tortoise: and oftentimes as proceeding from a [83] fish. In this also, under the character of Buddha, we may trace innumerable memorials of the Ark; and of the person preserved in it. The Author above, having mentioned the eleventh Emperor inclusive from Syn Mu, tells us, that in his time these rites [84] began. *In his reign Budo, otherwise called* KOBOTUS, *came over from the Indies into Japan, and brought with him, upon a white horse, his religion, and doctrines.* We find here, that the object of worship is made the person, who introduced it; (a mistake, which has almost universally prevailed:) otherwise in this short account what a curious [85] history is unfolded!

The only people to whom we can have recourse for any written memorials about these things, are the natives of India Proper. They were, we find, the persons, who introduced these hieroglyphics both in China, and Japan. It will therefore be worth while to consider, what they have transmitted concerning their religious opinions; as we may from hence obtain still greater light towards explaining this symbolical worship. Every manifestation of God's goodness to the world was in the first ages ex-

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[83] Ambassades Memorables, &c. l. 1. p. 67.

[84] Kampfer. l. 2. p. 163.

[85] See Vol. II. of this work, p. 290, and also in Vol. III. concerning Κιβωτος, and Ἱππος Ποσειδωνος.

pressed by an hieroglyphic: and the Deity was accordingly described under various forms, and in different attitudes. These at length were mistaken for real transfigurations: and Vishnou was supposed to have appeared in different shapes, which were styled incarnations. In one of these he is represented under the figure before-mentioned, of a princely person coming out of a fish. In another, he appears with the head of a boar, treading upon an evil dæmon, which seems to be the same as the Typhon of the Egyptians. On his head he supports a lunette, in which are seen cities, trees, and towers: in short, all that the world contains. In [86] Baldæus we have a delineation, and history given us of this incarnation. Kircher varies a little in his representation, yet gives a similar figure of the Deity, and styles him [87] Vishnou *Barachater*. By this, I should think, was signified *Vishnou, the offspring of the fish*. The Brahmins [88] say, that there was a time, when the serpent with a thousand heads withdrew himself, and would not support the world, it was so overburthened with sin. Upon this, the earth sunk in the great abyss of waters, and mankind, and all that breathed, perished. But Vishnou took upon himself the form above described, and diving to the

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[86] See Baldæus in Churchill's Voyages. vol. 3. p. 748.

[87] China Illust. p. 156.

[88] Baldæus above.

bottom of the sea, lifted the earth out of the waters, and placed, it together with the serpent of a thousand heads, upon the back of a tortoise. Vishnou occurs often in the pagodas of Elora; and I wish, that the curious Monsieur Perron, instead of his precise mensurations, had given us an accurate description of the statues, and figures, with their concomitant hieroglyphics.

We are however much obliged to him, for what he has afforded us in his translation of the Zend-Avesta, and of other writings, both of the Brahmins, and Parsees. What the Religious of these orders have transmitted concerning the symbolical worship of their ancestors, will most satisfactorily prove all that I have advanced about the like hieroglyphics in other parts: and what I have said will greatly illustrate their mysterious traditions; which in most places would otherwise be quite unintelligible.

In the third volume of Perron's Zend-Avesta, there is an account given of the Creation from the Cosmogony of the [89] Parsees: also an history of those great events, which ensued. We are accordingly informed, that when the Deity Ormisda set about the production of things; the whole was performed at six different intervals. He first formed the heavens; at the second period the waters; and

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[89] Boun Dehesh: Cosmogonie des Parses. See Zend-Avesta par M. Anquetil Perron. 1771. vol. 3. p. 348.

at the third the earth. Next in order were produced the trees and vegetables: in the fifth place were formed the birds and fishes; and the wild inhabitants of the woods: and in the sixth and last place he created man. This was the most honourable of all his productions: and the person thus produced is by the translator styled *l' Homme, et l' Homme Taureau.* He is in another place spoken of as the first of animal beings. The history is so curious, and the character, under which the first man appears, so particular, that I will give the words of the author, from whom I borrow. [90] Les premieres choses de l' espece des animaux, qui parurent, furent l' Homme, et le Taureau: qui ne vinrent pas de l' union du mâle avec la femelle. L' homme se nommoit Kaïomorts, et le Taureau Aboudad. L' homme nommé Kaïomorts étoit vivant et parlant; et l'Homme Taureau mort (fait pour mourir) et ne parlant pas: et cette homme a été le commencement des générations. In this detail we see the same person differently exhibited, and rendered twofold: the divine part being distinguished from the mortal. The former is styled—[91] sainte et pur ame de l' Homme Taureau: and the latter is exhibited under the semblance of a bull; and mentioned as the au-

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[90] From Modgmel el Tavarikh traitè de Kaïomorts. Zend-Avesta. vol. 3. p. 352. n. 1.

[91] Ibid. p. 353.

thor of all generations. We shall find hereafter, that in this [92] mythology, there were two antient personages represented under the same character, and named l' Homme Taureau : each of whom was looked upon as the father of mankind. Of the first of these at present it is my business to treat. For some time after his creation there was a season of great felicity : and he resided in a peculiar place of high [93] elevation, where the Deity had placed him. At last Abriman, a Dæmon, corrupted the world. He had the boldness to visit heaven : from whence he came down to earth in the form of a [94] serpent, and introduced a set of wicked beings called Karfesters. The first oxlike personage was infected by him : and at last so poisoned, that he died. [95] Le Taureau

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[92] There is a MS. mentioned by M. Perron, which is said to be in the library of the king of France : from whence, I should imagine, great light might be obtained towards the illustrating of this subject. It is a Treatise of Mythology, said to have been written by Viassen, the son of Brahma. Among other things it contains · L'Histoire de la Création, de la Conservation, et de la Destruction de l'Univers : celle des Métamorphoses de Vishnou ; et l'Origine des Dieux subalternes ; des Hommes, des Geans, &c. Zend-Avesta. vol. 1. p. 250. Here is mentioned—L'Histoire de l'Incarnation de Vishnou sous la Figure de Rama Sami.

[93] Le Dieu Suprême créa d'abord l'homme, et le Taureau dans un lieu élevé. Vol. 1. p. 353. n. 2.

[94] Sous la forme d'une Couleuvre il sauta du ciel sur la terre. p. 351.

[95] P. 354.

ayant été [96] frappé par celui, qui ne veut, que le mal, et par son poison, tomba sur le champ malade : rendit le dernier soupir, et mourut.—Il est dit, que les Dews du Mazendran combattoient contre les etoiles fixes. Pour Ahriman, indèpendammènt de ce qu'il machina contre Kaïomorts, il forma le dessein de détruire le monde entiere.—Les Izeds célestes pendant quatre-vingt-dix jours, et quatre-vingt-dix nuits combattirent dans le monde contre Ahriman, et contre tous les Dews. Ils les défirent, et les précipiterent dans le Douzakh (l'Enfer).—Du milieu du Douzakh Ahriman alla sur la terre. Il la perça, y parut, courut dedans. Il bouleversa tout ce qui étoit dans le monde. Cet ennemi du bien se mêla partout, parut partout, cherchant à faire du mal dessus, dessous.

We may perceive many curious circumstances in the short abstracts above quoted, concerning the introduction of evil into the world. We find it said of the figurative ox-like personage, Le Taureau est appellé l' Homme Taureau, le commencement des generations. He was likewise distinguished by the title of Le premier Taureau ; and it is further said of him, that he was called [97] Aboudad. At his death

[96] Blessé à la poitrine par le poison des Dews. p. 334.

[97] p. 352. By Abou-dad is probably signified in the antient Indic language Taurus Pater: which is analogous to Sor-Apis of the Egyptians.

Kaïomorts, of whom he had been the representative, [98] died also. Out of the left arm of the deceased proceeded a being named Goschoroun. He is said to have raised a cry, which was louder than the shout of a thousand men. [99] Il s'approcha d'Ormusd, et lui dit. Quel chef avez-vous établi sur le monde? Ahriman va briser promptement la terre, et blesser les arbres, les faire sécher avec une eau brûlante. Est ce là cet homme, dont vous avez dit: je le donnerai, pour qu'il apprenne à se guarentir du mal? Ormusd lui répondit: Le Taureau est tombé malade, ô Goschoroun, de la maladie, que cette Ahriman a portée sur lui. Mais cet homme est réservé pour une terre, pour un temps, où Ahriman ne pourra exercer sa violence.—Goschoroun fut alors dans la joie: il consentit à ce qu'Ormusd demandoit de lui; et dit, je prendrai soin des créatures dans le monde. After this it was determined to put Ahriman to flight, and to destroy all the wicked persons, whom he had introduced upon the earth; for there seemed now to be an universal opposition to the supreme Deity Ormusd. At this season a second oxlike personage is introduced by the name of [100] Taschter. He is spoken of both as a star, and as

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[98] Il est dit, que dans le moment où le Taureau, donné unique, mourut, Kaïomorts tomba (sortit) de son bras droit. Après sa mort &c. p. 355.

[99] P. 356.

[100] P. 359.

the sun. At the same time he is mentiond as a person upon earth under three forms. By Taschter is certainly signified [1] *De Ashter:* the same person whom the Greeks and Syrians represented as a female, and called Astarte. She was described horned, and sometimes with the head of a [2] bull; and supposed to have proceeded from an egg: and they esteemed her the same as Juno, and the Moon. To this Taschter was delegated the bringing on of the Deluge. In the mean time, the promoter of all evil, Ahriman, went on in his rebellion, and was joined by the Darvands, a race devoted to wickedness. The chief of them is made to accost the spirit of iniquity in the following words. [3] O Ahriman, levez-vous avec moi. Je vais dans le monde faire la guerre à cet Ormusd, aux Amschaspands, et les serrer. Alors celui, qui fait le mal, compta lui-même deux fois les Dews séparément, et ne fut pas content. Ahriman vouloit sortir de cet abattement, ou la vûe de l'homme pur l'avoit réduit. Le Darvand Dje lui dit: levez-vous avec moi pour faire cette guerre. Que de maux je vais verser sur l'homme pur, et sur le bœuf, qui travaille; Après ce que je

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[1] Both The and De were in the antient languages a kind of demonstrative particles, and occur very often.

[2] Ἡ δὲ Ἀσταρτη ἐπιθηκε τῃ ἰδιᾳ κεφαλῃ, Βασιλειας παρασημον, κεφαλην Ταυρου. Sanchon. apud Euseb. P. E. l. 1. c. 10. p. 38.

[3] Vol. 3. p. 350. 1.

leur ferai, moi, ils ne pourront vivre. Je corromprai leur lumiere : je serai dans l'eau : je serai dans les arbres : je serai dans le feu d'Ormusd : je serai dans tout, ce qu'Ormusd a fait. Celui, qui ne fait que le mal, fit alors deux fois la revûe de ses troupes. [4] Il ne resta à Ahriman d'autre ressource, que de prendre de nouveau la fuite, lui, qui vit, que les Dews disparoîtroient, et qu' il seroit lui-même sans force, parce qu' à la fin la victoire étoit réservée à Ormusd, lors de la résurrection et pendant toute la durée des êtres. In consequence of this Ahriman was put to flight. Upon which it was thought proper to bring over the face of the earth an universal inundation ; that all impurity might be washed away. And as Taschter was the person appointed to effect this great work, he accordingly set about it. [5] Taschter fut secondé de Bahman, de Hom Ized, accompagné du Beni Barzo Ized, et les ames pures veillerent avec soîn sur Taschter ; qui a comme trois corps : le corps d'un homme, le corps d'un cheval, et le corps d'un Taureau. Sa lumiere brilla en haut pendant trente jours et trente nuits : et il donna la pluie sous chaque corps pendant dix jours.—Chaque goutte de cette eau étoit comme une grande soucoupe. La terre fut toute couverte d'eau à la hauteur d'un homme. Les Kharfesters, qui étoient dans

[4] Vol. 3. p. 358.
[5] P. 359.

la terre, perirent tous par cette pluie. Elle pénétra dans les trous de la terre.—[6] En quelle prodigieuse quantité il la fit pleuvoir! par gouttes grosses comme la tête d'un Taureau. At last we find, that there was a retreat of the waters; and they were again restrained within their proper bounds. The mountain Albordi in Ferakh-kand first appeared; which the author compares to a tree, and supposes, that all other mountains proceeded from it. [7] Ormusd renferma toute cette eau, lui donna la terre pour bornes, et de-là fut formé zaré Ferakh-kand. Tous ces germes des Kharfesters, qui resterent dans la terre, y pourirent. Ensuite le vent, pendant trois jours, chassa l'eau de tout côtés sur la Terre. De là Dieu fait couler les autres eaux, reverse ensuite toutes ces eaux dans l'Arg roud, et dans le Veh roud lui, qui est le Createur du Monde.—Ormusd fit d'abord le Mont [8]Albordj, et ensuite les autres Montagnes au milieu de la terre. Lorsque l'Albordj se fut considérablement étendu, toutes les montagnes en vinrent, c'est-à-dire, qu'elles se multiplierent toutes, étant sorties de la racine de l'Albordj. Elles sortirent alors de la terre, et parurent dessus, comme

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[6] Vol. 3. p. 360.

[7] P. 359. 361.

[8] Albordi is undoubtedly the same as Al-Barid, and Al-Baris: the mountain on which the ark rested in Armenia. De cette montagne qu'il possede, montagne donnée d'Ormusd, il domine sur le monde. Vol. 2. p. 423.

un Arbre dont la racine croît tantôt en haut, tantôt en bas.—Il est ensuite parlé de ce développement de la terre.

After this there was a renewal of the world; and the earth was restored to its pristine state. The particular place, where Ormusd planted the germina from whence all things were to spring, was [9] Ferakhkand: which seems to be the land of Arach; the country upon the Araxes in Armenia. Here another bull was framed, which was the author of all abundance. We are moreover told, that there were two of this species produced, the one male and the other female; and from them all things were derived. [10] Les Izids confierent ou ciel de la Lune la semence lumineuse, et fort de ce Taureau. Cette semence ayant été purifiée par la lumiere de la Lune, Ormusd en fit un corps bien ordonné, mit la vie dans ce corps, et forma deux Taureaux, l'une mâle, l'autre femelle. Ensuite de ces deux especes deux cens quatre-vingt-deux especes d'animaux furent produites sur la terre; les oiseaux qui sont dans les nuées, et les poisons dans l'eau. All the seeds and rudiments of the future world had been entrusted to the Moon: and these two oxlike personages seem to have been produced by its influence. [11] La semence

[9] Vol. 2. p. 362.
[10] Vol. 3. p. 363.
[11] P. 371.

du Taureau ayant été portée au ciel de la Lune, y fut purifiée, et de cette semence furent formées beaucoup d'especes d'animaux : premierement, deux Taureaux, l'une mâle, l'autre femelle.

The flood was looked upon as a great blessing: for from thence proceeded the plenty, with which the present world is blest. There seems to have been a notion, which of old prevailed greatly, that the antediluvian world was under a curse, and the earth very barren. Hence the antient mythologists refer the commencement of all plenty, as well as of happiness in life, to the æra of the Deluge. And as the means by which mankind, and the fruits of the earth were preserved, had been of old described in hieroglyphics; people in time began to lose sight of the purport, and to mistake the substitute for the original. Hence instead of the man of the earth, and the great husbandman, they payed their veneration to the symbolical ox: and all that had been transmitted concerning the lunar machine, they referred to the moon in the heavens. This we learn from the prayers of the Brahmins and Parsees: in which may be discovered traces of some [12] wonderful truths.

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[12] This may seem not to precisely coincide with what I have said in the 42d page of the fourth volume; where I affirmed, that all antient knowledge was to be derived from Greece. But herein I meant all historical evidence, and not collateral mythology.

NÉAESCH DE LA LUNE.

A PRAYER OF THE PARSEES.

"JE prie Ormusd, je prie [14] Amschaspands, je prie la Lune, qui garde la semence du Taureau : je prie en regardant en haut, je prie en regardant en bas.—Que la Lune me soit favorable, elle, qui conserve la semence du Taureau : qui a été créé unique, et dont sont venus des animaux de beaucoup d'especes : je lui fais izeschné, et néaësch, &c. Je prie Ormusd, je prie Amschaspands, je prie la Lune, qui garde la semence du Taureau, &c. Comme la Lune croît, elle décroît aussi : pendant quinze jours elle croît; pendant quinze jours elle décroît. Lorsqu' elle croît, il faut la prier : lorsqu' elle décroît, il faut la prier : mais sur-tout, quand elle croît, on doit la prier. Lune, qui augmentes, et diminues, toi Lune, qui gardes la semence du Taureau, qui es sainte, pure, et grande, je te fais izeschné.

Je regarde en haut cette Lune : j' honore cette Lune, qui est élevée : je regarde en haut la lumiere de la Lune : j' honore la lumiere de la Lune, qui est élevée.

Lorsque la lumiere de la Lune répand la chaleur,

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[13] Zend-Avesta. vol. 3. p. 17.

[14] Les sept premieres Esprits célestes.

elle fait croître les arbres de couleur d'or : elle multiplie la verdure sur la terre avec la nouvelle Lune, avec la pleine Lune viennent toutes les productions.

Je fais izeschné à la nouvelle Lune, sainte, pure et grande : je fais izeschné à la pleine Lune, sainte, pure et grande.

Je fais izeschné à la Lune, qui fait tout naître, qui est sainte, pure et grande ; j' invoque la Lune, qui garde la semence du Taureau, &c.

A PRAYER OF THE SAME NATURE,

TO THE SACRED BULL.

[15] Adressez votre priere au Taureau excellent : adressez votre priere au Taureau pur : adressez votre priere à ces principes de tout bien : adressez votre priere à la pluie, source d'abondance : adressez votre priere au Taureau devenu pur, céleste, saint, qui n'as pas été engendré ; qui est saint. Lorsque Djé ravage le monde, lorsque l'impur Aschmogh affoiblit l'homme, qui lui est dévoué, l'eau se répand en haut : elle coule en bas en abondance : cette eau se résout en mille, en dix mille pluies. Je vous le dis, ô pur Zoroastre, que l'envie, que la mort soit

[15] Vol. 2. p. 424.

sur la terre: l'eau frappe l'envie, qui est sur la terre: elle frappe la mort, qui est sur la terre. Que le Dew Djé se multiplie; si c'est au lever du soleil, qu'il désole le monde, la pluie remet tout dans l'ordre, lorsque le jour est pur.—Si c'est la nuit, que Djé désole le monde, la pluie rétablit tout au (gâh) Oschen. Elle tombe en abondance: alors l'eau se renouvelle, la terre se renouvelle; les arbres se renouvellent, la sânté se renouvelle; ce, qui donne la santé, se renouvelle.

[16] Lorsque l'eau se repand dans le fleuve Voorokesché, il s'en éleve (une partie, qui tombant en pluie) mêle les grains avec la terre, et la terre avec les grains. L'eau, qui s'éleve, est la voie de l'abondance: les grains donnés d'Ormusd naissent, et se multiplient. Le Soleil, comme un coursier vigoureux, s'elance avec majesté du haut de l'effrayant *Albordj*, et donne la lumiere au monde. De cette montagne, qu'il possede, montagne donnée d'Ormusd, il domine sur le monde; qui est la voie aux deux destins, sur les grains donnés en abondance, et sur l'eau. Soit qu'auparavant vous ayez fait le mal, ou qu'auparavant vous ayez lû la parole excellente, je fais naître pour vous tout en abondance; moi, qui vous lave alors avec l'eau.—Par l'eau je purifie mille choses, que je vous ai données, &c.

Lorsque l'eau se répand dans le fleuve Vooro-

[16] Vol. 2. p. 425.

kesché, il s'en éleve une partie, qui tombant en pluie, mêle les grains avec la terre, la terre avec les grains. L'eau, qui s'éleve, est la voie de l'abondance. Tout croît, tout se multiplie sur la terre donnée d'Ormusd. La Lune, dépositaire de la semence du Taureau, s'elance avec majesté du haut de l'effrayant *Alboráj*, et donne la lumiere au monde. De cette montagne, qu'elle possede, montagne donnée d'Ormusd, elle domine sur le monde, qui est la voie aux deux destins, sur les grains donnés en abondance, et sur l'eau, &c. &c.

[17] Lorsque l'eau se répand dans le fleuve Voorokesché, &c.—Ce cruel Djé, maître de magie, s'éleve avec empire: il veut exercer sa violence; mais la pluie éloigne Ascheré; éloigne Eghoüere, elle éloigne Eghrann, &c. elle éloigne l'envie, elle éloigne la mort.—Elle éloigne la [18] Couleuvre; elle éloigne le mensonge; elle éloigne la méchanceté, la corruption, et l'impureté, qu' Ahriman a produites dans les corps des hommes.

We may, from what has preceded, perceive, that

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[17] Vol. 2. p. 475.

[18] In another part of the Zend-Avesta mention is made of this serpent. Ormusd, le juste Juge, dit à Nériosengh.—Après avoir fait ce lieu pur, dont l'éclat se montroit au loin, je marchois dans ma grandeur; alors la Couleuvre m'apperçut: alors cette Couleuvre, cette Ahriman, plein de mort, produisit abondamment contre moi, neuf, neuf fois neuf, neuf cens, neuf mille, quatre vingt-dix mille envies. Vendidad Sadi. vol. 2. p. 429.

the Moon, and the sacred Steer were two principal emblems in the Pagan world. And though the mythology of the more eastern countries has hitherto appeared obscure, and even unintelligible: yet by the light, which we have obtained from the writings of Greece, it is, I think, now rendered sufficiently plain: so that the main purport may be easily understood. It is to be observed above, that there were two persons alluded to under the same character, called in the Zend-Avesta *l' Homme Taureau*: both of whom were looked upon as the authors of the human race. It is probable, that the like was intended in the Apis and Mneuis of Egypt: and that in these characteristics, there was originally a twofold reference. By the former was perhaps signified our great progenitor, from whom all mankind has been derived: by the other was denoted the Patriarch, in whom the world was renewed.

Some have thought, that the truths, which are observable in Zend-Avesta, Vendidad Sadi, and other writings of these eastern nations, were derived from the disciples of Nestorius, who were found very early upon the coast of Malabar. But this is a groundless surmise. The religious sects, among whom these writings have been preserved, are widely separated, and most of them have no connexions with Malabar, or the Christians of that quarter. The Brahmins and Banians adhere closely to their own rites: and abhor all other persuasions. Many of the Indian Casts will not drink out of the same cup, nor feed

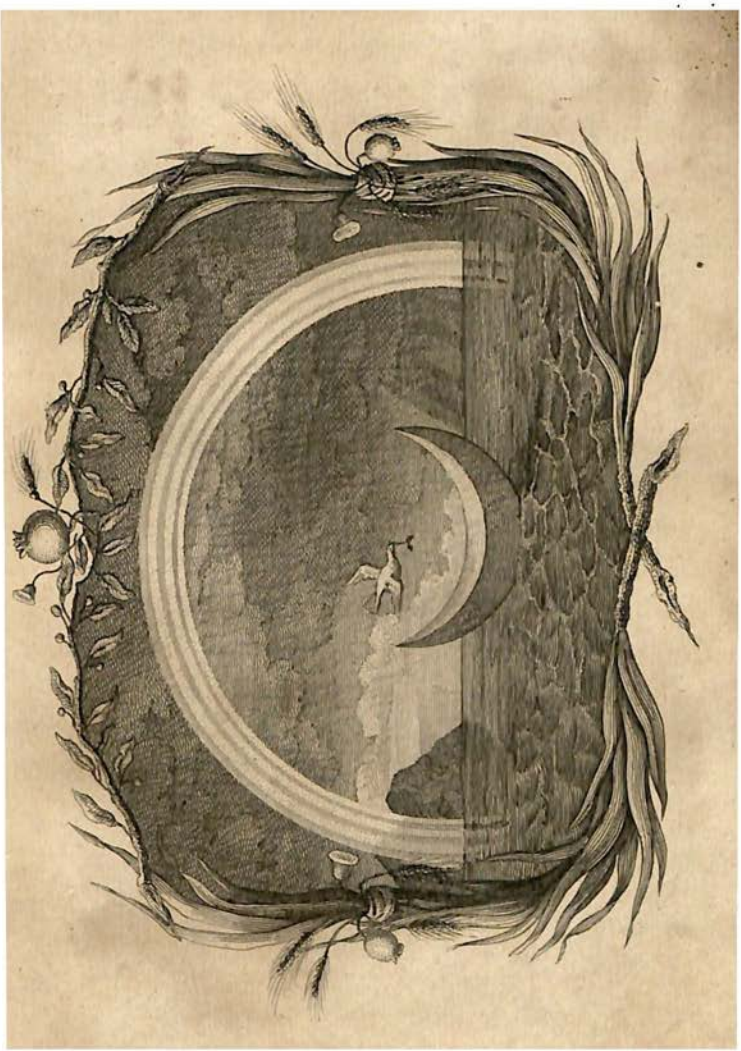
out of the same dish, with a person deemed impure: and they hold all as such, excepting their own fraternity. Many are so scrupulous, as not to come within reach of contact with other people. One tribe is that of the Tamuli, who are to be found in the provinces of Calicut, Madura, and Narsinga in Tranquebar: and are nearest to the Christians of those parts. But they have no intercourse with them; and are so zealously attached to their own rites, and doctrines, that the Danish missionaries meet with great difficulty in making proselytes among them. It is scarcely possible, that a people, thus fortified with prejudices, and blinded with notions of their own superior sanctity, should suffer any Christian traditions to be ingrafted upon their ancient theology. It has been shewn, that they have accounts of the origin of the world, the fall of man, and all the evil consequences, which ensued. If this primary knowledge had been introduced by Christians, we should certainly see subjoined some remains of their religion, and doctrines. But neither of Christianity, nor of its Founder, is there any trace to be perceived. We may therefore be assured, that whatever truths may be found in the writings of this people, they were derived from an higher source, and by a different channel.

Upon the whole, I think, it is manifest, that there are noble resources still remaining; if we will but apply ourselves to diligent inquiry. As we have both in India and China, persons of science, and curiosity,

it would be highly acceptable to the learned world, if they would pay a little more attention to the antiquities of the countries where they reside. And this is addressed to people not only in those regions, but in any part of the globe, wherever it is possible to gain access. There are in every climate some shattered fragments of original history; some traces of a primitive and universal language. And these may be observed in the names of Deities, terms of worship, and titles of honour, which prevail among nations widely separated: who for ages have had no connexion. The like may be found in the names of pagodas and temples; and of sundry other objects, which will present themselves to the traveller. Even America would contribute to this purpose. The more rude the monuments, the more antient they may possibly prove; and afford a greater light upon inquiry.

Thus far I have proceeded in the explanation and proof of the system, in which I first engaged. Should any thing still remain, which can afford a further illustration, it must be deferred for a season.

END OF THE MYTHOLOGY.



A

VINDICATION

OF THE

APAMEAN MEDAL:

AND OF THE INSCRIPTION

N· Ω E.

TOGETHER WITH

AN ILLUSTRATION

OF

ANOTHER COIN,

STRUCK AT THE SAME PLACE, IN HONOUR OF THE EMPEROR SEVERUS.

Apamia sive Cibotí Urbis
Numismata duo ex Seguino et Falconerio.

J.-L. Neveu fc

A

VINDICATION

OF THE

APAMEAN MEDAL.

WHEN I took in hand the Analysis of Antient Mythology, I thought, that I saw a great opening towards the truth; and the farther that I proceeded, the more light seemed to break in upon me. It appeared manifest, that the Grecians had corrupted the memorials, which had been transmitted to them: yet they were not so totally changed, but that there were still left some traces of the original histories. Upon collating many different traditions, I saw plainly, that they related to the great events in the first ages of the world; the same which had been recorded by Moses. Not that they were in any degree borrowed from the sacred writings; but came by a different channel: being family histories, and transmitted by the forefathers of those Poets, and other Writers, through whom they have been

derived to us. Among the Egyptians were the prophetic books of Ham; from whence Pherecydes Syrus borrowed his [1] Mythology. These did not contain prophecies according to our acceptation of the term: but consisted of sacred records, and memorials of antient date. Many of these had been transmitted from the first ages; and possibly from the very head of that family, in which they were afterwards found. In all the rites and mysteries of different nations the history of the Ark, and Dove, and every circumstance of the Deluge, are manifestly alluded to. Of this I gave many proofs; and shewed, that these histories were particularly to be found among the people of Argos, Larissa, and Theba;' among the natives of Mount Sipylus, and Celænæ in Asia Minor, and the Magnetes upon the Mæander. One instance among others in this part of the world was taken from a celebrated coin of the Apameans, which was first mentioned by Falconerius in a letter to Seguinus. This curious Medalist had seen three of them, all of the medaglion size, and in good preservation. Upon these was exhibited both the Ark, and the Dove, with a representation of the two principal persons, who were preserved at the time of the Deluge. And what is still more

[1] Παντα, ὁσα Φερεκυδης αλληγορησας εθεολογησεν, λαβων απο της τω Χαμ προφητειας. Isidorus apud Clement. Alexand. Strom. l. 6. p. 767.

remarkable, the name of the Patriarch was in plain and legible characters subjoined. This seemed to me a circumstance of great curiosity; and I accordingly introduced it at large. And I should never have troubled the world with a repetition of these things, which have been before so fully stated; had it not been objected to me, that I was certainly mistaken. It was mentioned by an anonymous writer with some animadversions in print. To these I should hardly have replied; not out of any disregard or contempt: but because they contain the opinion of a single person; and I am much too deeply engaged to be able to give an answer to every exception, which may possibly be made. Besides every body has a right to judge as may seem best: and to pass a censure, where he thinks that he is authorized from the subject. But there were other motives, which led me to avail myself of this opportunity, and to further explain my sentiments. First, the subject was of consequence; and I had not dwelt upon it so fully, as it deserved. And I thought, while I was taking off the objections brought against me by the person above, that I should at the same time be able to further illustrate those coins; and to correct a mistake or two of Falconerius, whom I had too implicitly followed. There were other Apamean and Magnesian coins highly worth our notice: and I had observed some particulars upon their inscriptions, which had never been satisfactorily explained, and therefore merited our atten-

tion. This led me to resume the subject; which I thought would not be unentertaining to those, who are at all acquainted with medals, or have a pleasure in researches of this nature. Lastly, I was farther induced to support, what I had written, from that attention, which I thought due to the opinion of persons of character. For I was informed that several Gentlemen of learning had at times intimated, that I had been greatly imposed upon. They went upon the same principles as the anonymous Observator; and insisted, that what I had taken for a proper name, ΝΩΕ, was a termination of another word: and that the Inscription, to which I appealed, was of a different purport. It would certainly give me pain to be found guilty of so puerile a mistake: and though I do not write for profit, nor perhaps for fame; yet I should be sorry to have a work, which I have with so much labour compiled, unkindly and unfairly represented. It would be particularly of consequence to me at this time, when a second edition is upon the point of coming out; and when a third Volume is far advanced in the press. I have been always upon my guard against prejudice in writing; and would willingly divest myself of every interested motive. But however indifferent I may be in many respects, I must not suffer my views to be rendered abortive; and an imputation brought upon any part of my work, which I flatter myself, it does not deserve. What has been exhibited in Print I will lay before

the Reader; as it contains the whole, that has been said by others upon the same occasion. On this account I shall produce it at length.

[a] MR. URBAN,

IT generally happens, that framers of whimsical systems (who attempt to reduce a thousand anomalies to some few general principles) do, in the midst of their zealous pursuits, commit some extravagances, which cast a ridicule upon the rest of their honest labours. I shall not trouble you with obsolete examples of this truth; but only remark, that in a modern work, which the specimen, presented in your Magazine, induced me to read, viz. Bryant's *late work on Antient Mythology, one of that learned Writer's chief principles is, that the accounts related in the Old Testament of the antient Patriarchs, &c. gave rise to a great part of the heathen Mythology. I had thought this notion so sufficiently exploded, as never to have been maintained again. Let us see how well Mr. Bryant supports it. He pretends, that among the cities in Asia there were various remains, and traditions concerning Noah's Ark; in particular, that*

[a] See the Gentleman's Magazine for May 1775. page 225.

several coins are still extant, whereon Noah's Ark and name are inscribed, of which he presents us with one containing, on the reverse, a square chest with two human figures inclosed in it; their heads only appearing above the chest. This is plainly Noah's Ark, he says; nay even the very name of Νωε, *in Greek letters, is inscribed on it. Alas! I wish, with Festus to St. Paul, that learning has not made him mad: for, behold! this pretended name of Noah is only the remainder of the*[5] *city's name,* Αλεξανδρεων, *which is inscribed on the legend round the coin; but there not being room for the three last letters to be continued round the edge of the coin, the artist engraved them on the chest in the middle of the coin, in a reversed manner, as exhibited in the margin.*

One should have thought, that this would easily have occurred to Mr. B. *himself; since he presents us with another coin, exhibiting the like chest, with the letters* NHTΩN *inscribed upon the chest, which he acknowledges in a note to be the continuation of the city's name, where the coin was struck, the former half of which is inscribed round the edge of the coin as before, with this only difference, that the reading of the letters is not reversed, as*

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[5] The name would more properly belong to the people, who were thus denominated from the city; could Αλεξανδρεων be proved to be the true reading.

in the foregoing case; and both together form Μαγνητων.—*Of this coin also see a representation in the margin.*

The Gentleman, to whom I am obliged for these animadversions, writes with great spirit, and I make no doubt, is a person of learning: as such I shall accordingly address him. And here in sincerity of heart I profess, that I shall always be ready to accede to the truth, in whatever shape it may appear: and I so highly prize instruction, that I will most gratefully accept of the boon from any hand, that will vouchsafe in any manner to present it. If therefore these animadversions could be shewn to be well-founded, I would certainly thank the unknown Author; and correct my mistake, whenever an opportunity was afforded. But I have so repeatedly considered the subject, and have so many additional proofs in support of what I have advanced, that I am obliged to abide by my former determination. The true purport of the inscription appears so plain, that I cannot subscribe either to the strictures of my anonymous Opponent; or to the judgment of others, who may be of the same opinion.

We find, that the mistake, of which I am supposed to be guilty, consists in this. The letters N. Ω. E. which I have imagined to compose the name of the Patriarch, are said to be a plural termination. They are supposed to belong to the imperfect term ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ. which, when completed

is thought to be ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ, the name of the people, by whom the medal was struck. Before I give an answer to this assertion, I will refer the reader to a true Engraving of this coin; the same, which I have exhibited before. He will here perceive an Ark upon the waters, containing two persons, a man, and a woman; of which the latter has upon her head a veil. Two more, who are probably the same persons repeated, seem to be just got on shore; and with their hands uplifted to witness some extraordinary emotion. Above sits a Dove; and overagainst it is another in the air, which seems to be returning towards the machine, and holds a small branch in its bill. The Ark itself has an open roof, if I may so term it; the covering being taken away: which affords an opportunity of seeing the persons within. The Engraver abroad, who first copied the coin, did not in his delineation give the true figure: for he represented it as an open box. Falconerius complains of his negligence; and in the account, which he has transmitted, he affords a more perfect description of the [4] machine. As his account affords many interesting circumstances, I will give it in his own words at large.

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[4] In the copy, which I have here given, my Engraver has endeavoured to represent it more truly, following in this one article the description exhibited by Falconerius: and shewing the angular roof, as it was in the original.

[5] Is, ut vides, Philippi Senioris, caput præfert, laureatum de more, atque inscriptione consuetâ: nisi quod Marci prænomen omissum errore haud in nummis infrequenti, ΑΥΤ. Κ. ΙΟΥΛ. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΑΥΓ. Imp. Cæs. Jul. Philippus. Aug. In aversâ vero (parte) navigii genus quodpiam cernitur (quo enim alio nomine id rei adpellem, ignoro) tetragoni specie, atque aquis innatantis; in quo simulacra duo pectore tenus extant; virile alterum, alterum muliebre, cui velum e capite dependet. Ex eâ autem, quam, si placet, deinceps Arcam nominabimus, prominent duo veluti tigilli erecti, quibus transversus alter innititur. Huic Columba insidet, alteri similis, quæ ramusculum unguibus tenens, alisque expansis, non longe ab Arcâ volantis speciem prebet. Ante Arcam duæ itidem figuræ quarum virilis muliebrem pone sequitur: utraque vero ejusdem plane vultûs, atque illæ, quæ in Arcâ sunt, ut mecum viri harum rerum periti sentiunt. Ornamenta capitis in muliebri eadem. Verum in hoc differunt duæ illæ, quæ Arcam præeunt, quod utraque dextrum lacertum in cubitum erectum habet; quod in iis, quæ in Arcâ sunt, nequaquam apparet. Inscriptionem ita lego: ΕΠ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Β. ΑΡΧΙ. ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ. Sub M. Aur. Alexandro II. Pontif. Apamensium. In fronte vero Arcæ hæ tres literæ non obscuræ

[5] Octav. Falconerii Dissertatio de Nummo Apamensi——ad Petrum Seguinum. Paris 1684.

apparent, N. Ω. E. Hujus sane typi tres mihi nummos, eosque maximos (Medaglioni vulgo) vidisse contigit. To these he adds a fourth struck at the same place, but not of the Emperor Philip; though it contains the same history. This is a coin of Severus, and has a different inscription from the former, though to the same purpose: ΕΠΙ. ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ. At the bottom is the name of the people, ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ. The meaning of this is very plain; and will afford a strong evidence in favour of those above-mentioned, and prove, that they are authentic. These coins are very [6] remarkable: and the history, with which they are accompanied, is of great consequence. Every circumstance, that has been above enumerated, relates to the Patriarch, who is plainly pointed out by the name ΝΩΕ. The history too of Apamea, Magnesia

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[6] Falconerius mentions, that the Engraver has not represented this machine, in the manner it ought to have been expressed, as he judges from the figure upon the former coins. The latter coin he never saw, having had only a copy. He attributes the mistake of the Artist to the coin's bad condition: Quod nummo in hâc parte vetustate attrito, angulum ex concursu duorum laterum, qui in nostro satis perspicuus est, minime deprehenderit. He says, that the Ark upon the coin of Philip was formed—lateribus —ita in obtusum angulum coëuntibus, ut quasi in cuneum desinant. Thus we find, that neither of the coins have been accurately engraved. but his description is very plain, and by that we may be easily guided.

and the region near the Mæander, if duly considered by the Reader, will reconcile him to this opinion. However as these letters are said to have a different relation, and to be a mere termination of a preceding word; let us examine, if there be any truth in this notion.

I must confess, that there are many reasons which prevent my acceding to this opinion. If the term ΝΩΕ were an appendage to the name ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ. in the circular part of the inscription, it would have been brought nearer, and stood almost within point of contact. But it is placed upon the farther square of the machine, and too near the center of the coin to have any such connection. In the next place, the arrangement of the letters would have been different, if they had the reference supposed. For, if we were to accede to the notion above, we must suppose that the two parts of the same name were written βυτροφηδον, or in contrary directions. Now I do not remember an instance of this upon any Grecian coin: and should an example be found, it would hardly be so late as the time of the Roman Empire, and the reign of Philip. But what puts the matter out of all doubt, is the position of the letters N and E, which prove to a demonstration, that the elements are not to be read backwards: for had they been the termination of the word spoken of, they would have stood the contrary way, ИΩƎ. Falconerius was too curious and experienced to be imposed upon: and he had for some time

suspicions about this part of the inscription. He thought, that possibly the letters ΝΩΕ might be the remains of the word ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ written ΝΩΕΜΑΠΑ. But he soon gave up his surmises; as the position of the letters N and E could not be made to correspond with this retrograde way of reading. Nor was there room for such a word to have been engraved in the space allotted for it. Indeed, it would have been unnecessary and redundant; as it is found immediately expressed below.

Lastly, if any thing more be wanting to detect the false reading, it is to ascertain the true: which, one would imagine, could not be long a secret to a person acquainted with medals. The imperfect term ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ. did not relate to a people, but to a person ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ: and this will past controversy appear, if with the smallest degree of attention we examine the course of the engraving. The inscription is manifestly this, as Falconerius rightly observes, ΕΠ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Β. ΑΡΧΙ. ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ. Sub Marco Aurelio Alexandro iterum Archipræsule Apamensium. *This medal was struck, when Marcus Aurelius Alexander was a second time chief pontiff of the Apameans.* This may be satisfactorily proved from another coin described by Falconerius, and struck by the Apameans. It has a different figure: but the circular inscription is nearly the same; only the name ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ is here expressed with a Zeta, and quite at length, without any break: so that it authenticates the true

reading in the coin above, though it varies a small degree in the orthography. The account given by Falconerius is this. [7] Quod autem ad rem nostram facit, notanda ejus inscriptio, ΕΠΙ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Β. ΒΕΛ. ΑΡΧΙ. ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ. Ex eâ enim constat percussum fuisse hunc nummum ab Apamensibus eodem anno, quo alter a me explicatus, in quo, ut hîc, M. Aurelii Alexandri II. Pontificis Apamensium nomen legitur. Nam Αρχιερεως nomine, tanquam ετωνυμου τε ενιαυτε, seu annum designantis, Fastos consignari solitos in Græcis urbibus, ex nummis atque lapidibus manifestum est, ut et nos monuimus in Notis ad Inscriptiones Athleticas, &c. This learned antiquary supposes the imperfect term ΒΕΛ towards the middle of the inscription to be an abridgment of [8] ΒΕΛΤΙΣΤΟΥ: and the purport of the whole to be as follows: *This money was struck under Marcus Aurelius Alexander, the most noble high-priest of the Apameans, in the second year of his office.* This piece of money being coined at the same place, and in the same year, plainly shews, that the name ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ. was at full length ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, and related to a person and not to a people.

Those, who imagined, that the name of the Alexandrians was expressed upon the money of Philip,

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[7] P. 282.

[8] He quotes several similar instances, such as ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΥ, sive ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ. ΣΕΜΝΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΞΑΧΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ. p. 284.

were led to think, that the name of the Magnesians, Μαγνητες, was to be found upon that of Severus; and that the two coins illustrated each other. But herein is a great mistake. No such people are there [9] mentioned: and this circumstance will afford me an opportunity of discoursing more at large concerning this valuable coin. It was struck by the Apameans; and was in the collection of Seguinus, who sent a copy of it to Italy. Upon the forepart is the head of Severus, with this inscription, ΑΥΤ. Κ. Λ. CΕΠΤ. CΕΟΥΗΡΟC. ΠΕΡΤΙ. Imperator Cæsar, Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax. Upon the reverse is the Ark upon the waters with similar figures to those, which are described upon the former coin. But the inscription is different, though precisely of the same purport. ΕΠΙ ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ. At the bottom is inscribed ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ. Falconerius has justly observed above, that in many places they distinguished their years by the names of

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[9] Falconerius seems to think, that the title of Magnetes upon this coin belonged to the Apameans, and he has disjoined the term ΑΡΤΕ. In consequence of this, he reads the inscription, ΕΠΙ ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕ. ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ: and he interprets the two last terms *Magnetum Apamensium*. In my third Volume, what I quoted was from him: for I had not at that time so intimately canvassed the subject. But the true reading is ΑΡΤΕΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ: which is one word: and the purport of it will be found to relate to some sacred personages, styled Artemagnetes, who were reverenced by the people of Apamea.

their priests, and archons: and the times when any material circumstance happened were distinguished by the same. Hence it it said in this inscription, Sub Agonotheta Artemagnetum, Apamensium. By this is meant, that this coin was struck in honour of Severus, by the Apameans, under the direction, or order, of the magister rituum et ludorum: in other words by the person, who presided at the rites of the Arte-Magnetes. The history of this coin is curious, and interesting beyond measure; and to arrive at a thorough knowledge of its purport, we must inquire who the Magnetes and Arte-Magnetes were. I have shewn in my third [10] volume, that by Menes, and Manes, was signified Deus Lunus, the Lunar Deity: and by the Manes in the plural were denoted the heads of the three great families, and collectively all those by whom the world after the Deluge was repeopled. The Egyptians esteemed them the eight principal Gods, and preserved some wonderful references to their history. It would be tedious to repeat here all that I have before said upon this subject: and it would be unnecessary, as it is so fully stated in the volume to which I refer. Let it suffice to mention, that, what the Romans styled Manes, was by other nations expressed Magnes; and places, where the Arkite rites prevailed, had the

[10] Analysis of Antient Mythology. Vol. III.

name of [11] Magnesia. In some of these, there were traditions about the Argo, either of its being built there, or of its appulse: and there is sometimes to be found on coins of such cities an inscription [12] ΑΡΓΩ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ. The very person, from whom these places were named, is said to have been the son of Argus; [13] Αργε—εγενετο Μαγνης: the purport of which is easy to be decyphered: for both Argus, of which they make a person, and also Argo, was certainly the Ark. By the terms Magnes, and Magnetes, was signified in a more extended sense any thing great and noble. Hence came the word Magnus, and the title Magnates among the Romans. The latter was a term of honour, assumed first by the priests of the Deity; but came at last into more general use, and was appropriated to all persons, who were esteemed, either from their birth, or office, illustrious. Among the Phrygians, Manes was looked upon as a primitive hero; a prince of great jus-

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[11] Magnesia is a compound of Magnes-ai, the place of Magnes, or Manes.

[12] See the coin taken from Patini numism. p. 413. also to be found in Pomp. Mela. Gronovii. p. 161. The Magnetes of Phrygia were the same as the Mæones, the worshippers of the Deity called Man, Maon, Manes, and Magnes.

[13] Antoninus Liberalis. Fab. 23. Apollodorus makes him the son of Æolus, and supposes him to have married a water-nymph. l. 1. p. 34. Dionys. Halicarnassensis makes him the son of the *Earth*. Εκ Διος και Γης Μανης, l. 1. p. 21.

tice and power: and he seems to have maintained the same character among other nations, who adopted him in like manner. [14] Φρυγες δε μεχρι νυν τα λαμπρα και θαυμασια των εργων Μανικα καλεσι, δια το Μανιν τινα των παλαι βασιλειων, αγαθον ανδρα και δυνατον, γενεσθαι παρ' αυτοις, ον ενιοι Μασδην καλεσι. *The Phrygians even to this day call all noble and wonderful occurrences Manica after the name of Manis. He is supposed to have been an antient king in their country: and is represented as a person of great goodness, and power: whom some called Masdes.* He was moreover worshipped in these parts; also in Caria, and Lydia, under the name of Menes, Manes, Masdes, and Meen Arkæus.

By the Magnetes then we are to understand originally the eight persons, by whom the world was renewed. By the Arte-Magnetes are signified the two principal of those eight, the two great parents of mankind: for Art, Arte, and Artas, among the Asiatics, and even among the Grecians, signified any thing superlative and excellent. Hence we find it prefixed to many names, such as Artabanus, Artapanus, Artavasdes, Artaphernes, Artemidorus, [15] Ar-

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[14] Plutarch. Is. et Osir. p. 360.

[15] In like manner we meet with the names Artebarzanes, Artembares, Artembates, Artachæus, Artempasa, sive Venus Scythica, Artozostra, Artasyras, Artemon, Artemias, Artayintes: to which many more might be added.

tabazus. We are accordingly told by Hesychius, Αρτας, μεγας, *that by Artas was denoted any thing great.* Αρταιοι, οι Ἡρωες παρα Περσαις. *Heroes among the Persians are styled Artæi.* Thucydides mentions a king of the Messapians in Italy, named Artos, which Hesychius expresses Artas, and says, that by this term was signified a [16] person *great and illustrious.* Conformably to this Herodotus, in speaking of Xerxes and Artaxerxes, tells us, [17] Ξερξης, αρηιος : Αρτοξερξης, μεγας αρηιος ; *by the name Xerxes, the Persians denote a Hero ; by Artoxerxes a great Hero.*

As the Arte-Magnetes were the two principal persons recorded in the rites of the Apameans and Magnesians ; we accordingly find from these coins, to what those rites alluded, and who those persons were. In the coin of Philip, the side of the Ark is

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Artebarzanes is a compound of Arte-Bar-Zan ; by which was signified the Great offspring of the Sun.

[16] Αρτας μιγας και λαμπρος. Θευκυδιδης. Αρτυνος, Αρχων. Αρταναις, Βασιλειας, και Σατραπειας. Ibid.

[17] L. 6. c. 98. Regions were distinguished in the same manner, as well as men. Αρταια, Περσικη χωρα. Steph. Byzant. He adds, Αρταιους δε Περσαι, ωσπερ οι Ἑλληνες τους παλαιους ανθρωπους, ἡρωας καλουσι· ταχα δε και εντευθεν μοι δοκει Αρταξερξαι, και Αρταβαζοι. Αρταια, the region above, is a compound of Αρτ-αια, Art-aia, which signifies regio nobilis. The term was used with some latitude, as we find from Hesychius. Αρταδες, οι δικαιοι υπο Μαγων.

divided, as it were, into two tablets: and seems to have been designed for the names of the two persons above them. Upon the first of these, under the figure of the man, is inscribed the name ΝΩΕ, Noë; of which we have been treating: but upon that of the woman no name occurs: so that the space is left quite vacant. The reason probably was, that the name was either unknown; or else too long to be inserted. Upon the coin of Severus, the side of the Ark is not at all divided; but makes a common parallelogram. And though the whole of the word Artemagnetum could not be inscribed for want of room, yet we find a part inserted, sufficient to indicate, who were alluded to under that title, and what was the antient religion of the place. It is to be observed, that the letters are not βυστροφηδον, but in the usual and proper order of arrangement.

There is an account given in the Academy of [18] Inscriptions, that upon a second inspection, one coin, in the possession of Cardinal Ottoboni, instead of the word Noë, has the letters Neo. These are supposed to be an abbreviation of [19] Νεωκοροι, and to

[18] Memoires de Literature. vol. 23. p. 186. See also Bianchini Historia Universale. quarto. 1687. p. 191. From this latter book the observation is taken.

[19] Νεωκοροι, Neocori were the people who swept the temples, and

allude to a quite different circumstance. Were this so; yet we could not set aside the positive evidence of Falconerius about the other medals, because one happens in a small degree to differ from them. But in reality it does not differ in purport; nor in the least make against the authenticity of the former coins: on the contrary, it affords a strong evidence in favour of them. Many instances might be produced where the name Νοος, Noos, has been changed to Νεος, Neos; and cities Noë into Νεα. The benign Deity of Egypt Agathodæmon was no other than the Patriarch, the great benefactor, who was represented under the figure of a serpent, and crowned with the [20] Lotus. The Inscription should have been Noe Agathodæmon, but instead of this we find it expressed Νεο Αγαθοδαιμων, from a common prejudice of the Grecians.

Thus have I endeavoured by repeated evidence to

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otherwise officiated in them. By some they are supposed to be the chief priests. The office seems to have been different in different places.

[20] See the Coin to this purpose annexed upon the Plate.

Deucalion was from hence called Opus: by which is meant Deucalion Serpens. Δευκαλιωνα δ'ωνυμον, και τον αυτον λεγεσθαι Οπεντα. Triclin. Schol. in Pind. Olymp. Od. 9. v. 86. the reason for this I have given elsewhere. Ops, Opis, Opus, Opici, were all terms, which related to serpents. See Vol. III. of the Analysis.

establish the genuine reading upon the medal of Philip; as it is particularly interesting, and curious. But had it been out of my power to have ascertained, what I have undertaken to prove; yet it would have been, I think, of little consequence, even if the name had been totally erased. For the history would still speak for itself, and in characters too plain to be controverted. How many coins are there, and Basso Relievos, where a gigantic person is represented with a club, and a lion's skin, and engaged with a many-headed serpent? Had a Writer mentioned that he had seen the name Ἡρακλης inscribed upon it; and another of better eyes, and more sagacity, had afterwards found out, that it was not Ἡρακλης, the Hero; but, Ἡρακλειδης, Heraclides the Sculptor, who was there mentioned, what would it all amount to? The history still would remain in legible characters, independent of the inscription. Thus take away the letters Νωε, or assign them to a different purpose; yet the historical part of the coin can neither be obliterated, nor changed. The Ark upon the waters, and the persons in the Ark will still remain; the Dove too and the Olive will be seen; and the great event, to which they allude, will be too manifest to be mistaken. The whole region, to which these coins are to be ascribed, was replete with memorials of this kind. Here were the mountains of Celænæ, upon which the Ark was supposed

to have rested; and the temples of [21] Μην Αρκαιος, Deus Lunus Arkæus. To say the truth, there were several cities named Apamea, in Syria, Phrygia and other countries. But the Apamea, of which we have been treating, was undoubtedly the city upon the [22] Mæander in Phrygia: and when the history of the place is known, we shall not wonder at these references upon the coins. It stood upon the conflux of the Marsyas, Obrimus, and Organ: which ran into the Mæander: and it had the additional name of [23] Κιβωτος, Cibotus. By this is signified the City of the *Ark*. It is the very term made use of by the Seventy, and the Apostles, when they speak of the Ark of Noah. It was also named [24] Βοοσκητη, Booscete, sive *Taurus Piscis*. This name took its rise from an antient hieroglyphic, which was the chief object of the people's worship. The purport of it will be easily perceived by those, who are at all acquainted with the celebrated emblems, the Apis and

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[21] I do not trouble the Reader with unnecessary quotations, as all these histories have been before mentioned in my third Volume.

[22] Hero was also a capital city, called Magnesia, whose inhabitants were styled *Μαγνητες προς Μαιανδρον*; being denominated both from their city and worship; and further distinguished by the river, on which they lived; for there were several people in different parts, who had the same title of Magnetes.

[23] *Απαμεια ἡ Κιβωτος λεγομενη.* Strabo. l. 12. p. 864.

[24] Pliny, l. 3. c. 32.

Mneuis of Egypt, the Atargatus of Syria, and the Tauro-Men, Meno-Taur, and Taur-Iöne, of other [25] countries. The river Marsyas also, which ran by the city had the name of Cibotus: and there is a coin with this remarkable inscription, [26] ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΡΣΥΑΣ ΚΙΒΩΤΟΣ. *Apamensium Marsyas Arca.* The river Organ was denominated from the same object of worship, and from the rites practised near its waters. The name is precisely of the same purport, as that before mentioned. Organ is exactly similar to, ארגז, Argan of the eastern nations, and signifies an [27] Ark. It is expressed Orgas by Pliny, who mentions the city as being situated near three rivers, which all met together below it. [28] Apamia ——circumfusa Marsya, Obrima, Orga, fluminibus, &c. Orgas is the same as [29] ארגן, and Organ, as ארגן, which were terms once in use among the people of Palestine; and are to be traced in other [30] countries.

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[25] Of all these I have spoken at large in my third Volume.

[26] Upon a coin of Hadrian, mentioned by Harduin and Spanheim.

[27] Hence came the word ὄργανον of the Grecians, by which they denoted any machine.

[28] L. 5. c. 29.

[29] See 1 Samuel. c. 6. v. 8. 11.

[30] Velleius the Epicurean in Cicero, having given many instances of base worship, at last mentions that of the Argo, in the

Salmasius thinks, that Apamea had the name of Cibotus, *the Ark*, from being a great [31] emporium, in which all the wealth of Asia centered. It was certainly in the time of the Romans a place of great trade: but there were other cities not inferior to it. Who would think of giving to places of such note the name of an ark or chest? Besides it was an antient appellation, antecedent to these circumstances; and related to an Ark of a different nature. Moreover the name was not confined to the city; but we find, that the rivers also were so called; and every place in its neighbourhood, had a reference to the same worship. If we add to this, what I have before mentioned concerning the temples, and rites of Menes Arkæus; and the many other evidences, which I have elsewhere collected, we need not wonder at the name of Noah upon an Apamean coin; nor at the history, with which it is attended. After the captivity numbers of Jews settled in Asia Minor: and in the time of Severus, and likewise of Philip, the country abounded with Christian Proselytes; and from these probably the

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celestial sphere, which I have shewn to have been no other than the Ark. He accordingly calls it Argon. De Naturâ Deor. l. 3. c. 16.

[31] Forte ita dicta, quod emporium esset, et receptaculum, ac velut arca mercium communis totius Asiæ. Plinianæ Exercit. p. 580.

natives obtained a greater accuracy in their mythology. Hence it is, that the true name of the Patriarch occurs upon the coin, instead of Ogyges, Deucalion, or Menes.

Thus much I thought proper to say, in order to obviate an unmerited reflection: and to vindicate, and at the same time explain, some of the most curious coins, that were ever produced to the world.

END OF THE VINDICATION.

OBSERVATIONS

AND

INQUIRIES

RELATING TO

VARIOUS PARTS OF ANTIENT HISTORY;

CONTAINING

DISSERTATIONS

ON

THE WIND EUROCLYDON,

AND ON THE

ISLAND MELITE.

TOGETHER WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF EGYPT

IN ITS MOST EARLY STATE,

AND OF THE

SHEPHERD KINGS:

WHEREIN THE TIME OF THEIR COMING, THE PROVINCE WHICH THEY PARTICULARLY POSSESSED, AND TO WHICH THE ISRAELITES AFTERWARDS SUCCEEDED, IS ENDEAVOURED TO BE STATED.

The Whole calculated to throw Light on the History of that Antient Kingdom, as well as on the Histories of the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Babylonians, Edomites, and other Nations.

TO

HIS GRACE

THE

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

My Lord,

I WOULD not presume to introduce the ensuing Treatises to your Grace's notice, were I not well acquainted with your love of truth, and your zeal to obtain it through the most severe investigation. A mind so devoted is the best judge of evidence in every degree, being influenced by a more exquisite taste and discernment, and enriched with superior knowledge. It is from this principle, my Lord, that you have been so happy in every rational attainment, and led to an union with virtues the most similar to your own. Hence it is, that I am emboldened to lay before your Grace the following Dissertations, which contain matter of dark and remote enquiry; and are the fruits of that ease and retirement, with which, under Providence, I am blest by your benevolence

and favour. These are the only returns I can make for the many signal instances of your goodness. Beyond these I have nothing left, but prayers and wishes for you long and intimately to enjoy that happiness, which, like a salutary emanation, you so widely diffuse to others. I shall not attempt to make any display of your high endowments, and hereditary great qualities. May it be the peculiar happiness of these times never to stand in need of such approved worth and excellence. Let the calm with which we are flattered, long continue; that nothing may interfere with your noble and ingenuous pursuits, nor ruin the happy tendency of your studies; much less in any degree interrupt your domestic felicity.

Permit me to subscribe myself with the highest sense of duty and esteem,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most faithful

And most obliged humble Servant,

JACOB BRYANT.

Cypenham, May 1st, 1767.

THE PREFACE.

THE following Treatises have been compiled from observations made in the course of my reading many years ago; which I thought might be of some service, if they were brought under proper arrangement, and illustrated with farther evidence. This, I imagined, would not be attended with any great trouble, as the general outlines were already planned in my mind; and the principal materials were prepared. But I did not consider, how very different it is, to be one's self thoroughly persuaded of a truth, and to be able to exhibit the same in such a light, as to obtain the like conviction in others. I was not aware of the many learned men of the highest repute with whom I was to engage: nor the unexpected objections, and variety of opinions (many of them rendered almost sacred by antiquity) with which I was to be opposed. The labour, that has arisen from hence, has been far greater than can be well conceived; and the stating

and canvassing these different notions has rendered the work very dry, and unentertaining, and will abridge me of many a reader. I had often observed, that the main cause of failure in those learned writers, was their engaging in schemes too extensive and universal, where each took in hand singly, what required the joint labour of numbers, and which should have been the work of an age. I have therefore confined myself within narrow limits, that I might not be bewildered in too wide a field: yet have not so closely restrained myself as to refuse the pleasure of sometimes expatiating, when a fair opportunity has invited me. The first tract is concerning the wind mentioned by St. *Luke* under the name of *Euroclydon;* wherein I endeavour to shew, that the common and accepted reading in the original *Greek* is the true one. The second is a dissertation on the two islands, *Melite Illyrica*, and *Melite Africana;* in which I take upon me to prove, in opposition both to *Bochart* and to *Cluver*, and to all the traditions of the Church of *Rome*, that the former was the island, on which the apostle St. *Paul* was shipwrecked. The last, and far largest treatise, contains a partial history of *Egypt* in its earliest state; in which an account is given of the Shepherd Kings, and of

the precise district, which they originally occupied in that country, and to which after their expulsion the children of *Israel* succeeded. In this detail the situation of the land of *Góshen*, as well as of *Zoan*, is stated; and a particular description exhibited of *Onium* and *Heliopolis*, and of the three provinces, which lay towards the upper point of *Delta*. In the determining the situation of these places, the chief of my geographical labour is expended. Many respectable writers have favoured the world with their opinions upon these subjects; of whom there are some, that I have not had the good fortune to meet with. Among these are the works of *Jablonski*; and whatever *P. Sicard* may have exhibited to this purpose. M. *D'Anville*'s learned treatise did at last reach me; but not till my work had been some months in the press; and the far greater part was printed. I have the mortification to find, that I differ from him in many articles. His book however would have been of great use to me in several particulars, which had escaped my notice, and his maps of considerable service. For, however I may be obliged to dissent from him, yet there must necessarily be found matter of great edification in a writer so curious,

and so knowing, who takes in a far greater compass than that, which I engage in. Much about the same time I was favoured with a sight of *Muller*'s tracts, intitled [1] *Satyra Observationum Philologicarum*; wherein are contained many things to my purpose. It is my misfortune likewise to differ from this singularly learned man; but in a point of the greatest consequence we are nearly of the same opinion, I mean, the situation of the *Israelites* in *Egypt*. In respect to M. *D'Anville*, I am obliged to dissent from him particularly about the situation of one place, which I have made great use of in the following investigation, and upon which a great deal depends. He places *Phacusa* towards the bottom of *Delta* to the east of the *Nile*, in contradiction to the situation which I find was attributed to this place by *P. Sicard*, and which I have likewise given it; *Je suis étonné de voir dans la carte du* P. Sicard, *une position bien étrange de* Phacusa *en la remontant jusq' au-dessus de la division du* Nil, *au sommet du* Delta, *peu au-dessus de la* Babilone d' Egypte [2]. But with due deference

[1] Muller. Satyra Observationum Philologicarum. Lugduni Bat. 1752.

[2] Mémoires sur l'Egypte Ancienne et Moderne, par M. D'Anville de l'Academie Royale a Paris, 1766. p. 107.

to his learning and experience, this was the true situation. In reality there were two places of this name; the one a village, taken notice of by *Strabo*, and situated at the commencement of the great canal under the hill of *Arabia*, and consequently over against the point of *Delta*. The other was a city, the metropolis of a province (if the reading in *Ptolemy* be quite genuine) in situation opposite to the former, standing at the extreme point of *Lower Egypt*, where the *Nile* was first divided. This was in *Delta*, the other to the east without; yet both in the vicinity of *Babylon*. Of each I shall give an ample description. Many have thought that I should have rendered my work more entertaining, if I had banished all quotations from the text, or at farthest had given the meaning only of what I refer to instead of the original words. But as the whole is matter of close and dark inquiry, I thought it highly requisite, as I proceeded step by step, to bring my authorities immediately under the eye of the reader, that he might see both the propriety and truth of the evidences, to which I appeal, and form a judgment of the inferences, which I make, in order as I produce them.

As I have presumed to point out errors in

the works of many eminent writers, I must necessarily suppose that I am liable to similar failures, and must be prepared for a like detection. But I hope that I shall not be found guilty of any dangerous mistakes, such as may affect my argument, and ruin my purpose. I likewise hope that I have no where delivered myself with undue warmth, or severity. There are many authors of whom I have spoken freely, but I believe it needs no apology. In respect to those of real eminence, however I may differ in some particulars, I flatter myself that I have every where paid a due regard to their superior merit. For I should be guilty of great ingratitude, if I did not upon all occasions render every just acknowledgement to persons, who have laboured so much for the public good: by whose learning I have been greatly enriched, and by whose very errors I have profited.

OF THE

WIND EUROCLYDON.

ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

ΚΕΦ. κζ.

Ως δε εκριθη τ̀ αποπλειν ἡμας εις την Ιταλιαν, παρε-
διδουν τον τε Παυλον και τινας ἑτερους δεσμωτας ἑκατον-
ταρχῃ, ονοματι Ιουλιῳ, σπειρης Σεβαστης. Επιβαντες δε 2
πλοιῳ Αδραμυττηνῳ, μελλοντες πλειν τους κατα την Ασιαν
τοπους, ανηχθημεν, οντος συν ἡμιν Αρισταρχου Μακεδονος
Θεσσαλονικεως. Τῃ τε ἑτερᾳ κατηχθημεν εις Σιδωνα· 3
φιλανθρωπως τε ὁ Ιουλιος τῳ Παυλῳ χρησαμενος, επε-
τρεψε προς φιλους πορευθεντα επιμελειας τυχειν. Κἀ- 4
κειθεν αναχθεντες ὑπεπλευσαμεν την Κυπρον, δια το τους
ανεμους ειναι εναντιους. Το, τε πελαγος το κατα την 5
Κιλικιαν και Παμφυλιαν διαπλευσαντες, κατηλθομεν εις
Μυρα της Λυκιας. Κἀκει ευρων ὁ ἑκατονταρχος πλοιον 6
Αλεξανδρινον πλεον εις την Ιταλιαν, ενεβιβασεν ἡμας εις
αυτο. Εν ἱκαναις δε ἡμεραις βραδυπλοουντες, και μολις 7
γενομενοι κατα την Κνιδον, μη προσεωντος ἡμας τ̀ ανεμου,
ὑπεπλευσαμεν την Κρητην κατα Σαλμωνην· Μολις τε 8
παραλεγομενοι αυτην, ηλθομεν εις τοπον τινα καλουμενον
Καλους λιμενας, ᾧ εγγυς ην πολις Λασαια. Ἱκανου δε 9
χρονου διαγενομενου, και οντος ηδη επισφαλους του πλοος, δια
το και την νηστειαν ηδη παρεληλυθεναι, παρηνει ὁ Παυλος,
Λεγων αυτοις, Ανδρες, θεωρω ὁτι μετα ὑβρεως και πολλης 10
ζημιας ου μονον του φορτου και του πλοιου, αλλα και των

11 ψυχων ἡμων μελλειν εσεσθαι τον πλων. Ὁ δε ἑκατον-
ταρχος τῳ κυβερνητῃ και τῳ ναυκληρῳ επειθετο μαλλον η
12 τοις ὑπο τε Παυλε λεγομενοις. Ανευθετε δε του λι-
μενος ὑπαρχοντος προς παραχειμασιαν, οἱ πλειους
εθετο βελην αναχθηναι κακειθεν, ειπως δυναιντο
καταντησαντες εἰς Φοινικα παραχειμασαι, λιμενα
της Κρητης βλεποντα κατα Λιβα και κατα Χωρον.
13 Ὑποπνευσαντος δε Νοτε, δοξαντες της προθεσεως κεκρα-
14 τηκεναι, αραντες ασσον παρελεγοντο την Κρητην. Μετ'
ου πολυ δε εβαλε κατ' αυτης ανεμος τυφωνικος, ὁ καλου-
15 μενος Ευροκλυδων. Συναρπασθεντος δε του πλοιου, και μη
δυναμενου αντοφθαλμειν τῳ ανεμῳ, επιδοντες εφερομεθα.
16 Νησιον δε τι ὑποδραμοντες καλουμενον Κλαυδην, μολις
17 ισχυσαμεν περικρατεις γενεσθαι της σκαφης. Ἡν
αραντες, βοηθειαις εχρωντο, ὑποζωννυντες το πλοιον· φοβου-
μενοι τε μη εἰς την Συρτιν εκπεσωσι, χαλασαντες το σκευος,
18 ὑτως εφεροντο. Σφοδρως δε χειμαζομενων ἡμων, τῃ
19 ἑξης εκβολην εποιουντο· Και τῃ τριτῃ αυτοχειρες την
20 σκευην του πλοιου ἐρριψαμεν. Μητε δε ἡλιου, μητε
αστρων επιφαινοντων επι πλειονας ἡμερας, χειμωνος τε ουκ
ολιγου επικειμενου, λοιπον περιῃρειτο πασα ελπις του
21 σωζεσθαι ἡμας. Πολλης δε ἀσιτιας ὑπαρχουσης, τοτε
σταθεις ὁ Παυλος εν μεσῳ αυτων, ειπεν, Εδει μεν, ω ἀν-
δρες, πειθαρχησαντας μοι, μη αναγεσθαι απο της Κρητης,
22 κερδησαι τε την ὑβριν ταυτην και την ζημιαν. Και
τανυν παραινῳ ὑμας ευθυμειν· αποβολη γαρ ψυχης ἐσται
23 εξ ὑμων, πλην του πλοιου. Παρεστη γαρ μοι τῃ
νυκτι ταυτῃ αγγελος του Θεου ου ειμι, ᾧ και λατρευω,
24 Λεγων, Μη φοβου Παυλε· Καισαρι σε δει παρασταναι·
και ἰδου, κεχαρισται σοι ὁ Θεος πασας τους πλεοντας μετ'
25 σου. Διο ευθυμειτε ἀνδρες· πιστευω γαρ τῳ Θεῳ ὁτι

ἅτως ἐσαι καθ' ὃν τροπον λελαληται μοι. Εις νησον 26
δε τινα δει ἡμας εκπεσειν. Ὡς δε τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατη 27
νυξ εγενετο, διαφερομενων ἡμων εν τῳ Αδρια, κατα μεσον
της νυκτος ὑπενοουν οἱ ναυται προσαγειν τινα αυτοις χωραν·
Και βολισαντες, εὑρον οργυιας εικοσι· Βραχυ δε διασησαν- 28
τες, και παλιν βολισαντες, εὑρον οργυιας δεκαπεντε.
Φοβουμενοι τε μηπως εις τραχεις τοπους εκπεσωμεν, εκ 29
πρυμνης ῥιψαντες αγκυρας, τεσσαρας, ηυχοντο ἡμεραν γε-
νεσθαι. Των δε ναυτων ζητουντων φυγειν εκ τε πλοιου, 30
και χαλασαντων την σκαφην εις την θαλασσαν, προφασει
ὡς εκ πρωρας μελλοντων αγκυρας εκτεινειν, Ειπεν ὁ 31
Παυλος τῳ ἑκατονταρχῃ και τοις στρατιωταις, Εαν μη ἑτοι
μεινωσιν εν τῳ πλοιῳ, ὑμεις σωθηναι ου δυνασθε. Τοτε οἱ 32
στρατιωται απεκοψαν τα σχοινια της σκαφης, και εασαν
αυτην εκπεσειν. Αχρι δε οὗ εμελλεν ἡμερα γινεσθαι, 33
παρεκαλει ὁ Παυλος ἁπαντας μεταλαβειν τροφης, λεγων,
Τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατην σημερον ἡμεραν προσδοκωντες, ασι-
τοι διατελειτε, μηδεν προσλαβομενοι· Διο παρακαλω 34
ὑμας προσλαβειν τροφης, τουτο γαρ προς της ὑμετερας
σωτηριας ὑπαρχει· ουδενος γαρ ὑμων θριξ εκ της κεφαλης
πεσειται. Ειπων δε ταυτα, και λαβων αρτον, ευχα- 35
ριστησε τῳ Θεῳ ενωπιον παντων, και κλασας ἠρξατο εσθιειν.
Ευθυμοι δε γενομενοι παντες, και αυτοι προσελαβοντο 36
τροφης. Ημεν δε εν τῳ πλοιῳ αἱ πασαι ψυχαι, διακο- 37
σιαι ἑβδομηκοντα ἑξ. Κορεσθεντες δε τροφης, εκουφιζον· 38
το πλοιον, εκβαλλομενοι τον σιτον εις την θαλασσαν.
Ὁτε δε ἡμερα εγενετο, την γην ουκ επεγινωσκον· κολπον 39
δε τινα κατενοουν εχοντα αιγιαλον, εις ὃν εβουλευσαντο, ει
δυναιντο, εξωσαι το πλοιον. Και τας αγκυρας περιε- 40
λοντες εων εις την θαλασσαν, ἁμα ανεντες τας ζευκτηριας

των πηδαλιων· και επαρανλες τον αρτεμονα τη πνευσῃ,
41 καλειχον εις τον αιγιαλον. Περιπεσονλες δε εις τοπον
διθαλασσον, επωκειλαν την ναυν· και ἡ μεν πρωρα ερει-
σασα εμεινεν ασαλευτος, ἡ δε πρυμνα ελυελο ὑπο της βιας
42 των κυματων. Των δε σραλιωτων βελη εγενελο ἱνα τυς
δεσμωλας αποκλεινωσι, μη τις εκκολυμβησας διαφυγοι.
43 Ὁ δε εκαλονταρχος, βελομενος διασωσαι τον Παυλον,
εκωλυσεν αυτυς τυ βελευματος, εκελευσε τε τυς δυναμενυς
κολυμβαν, απορριψανλας πρωτυς επι την γην εξιεναι·
44 Και τυς λοιπυς, ὑς μεν επι σανισιν, ὑς δε επι τινων των
απο τυ πλοιυ. και ὑτως εγενετο πανλας διασωθηναι επι
την γην.

ΚΕΦ. κη.

ΚΑΙ διασωθενλες, τοτε επεγνωσαν ὁτι Μελιτη ἡ νησος κα-
2 λειται. Οι δε βαρβαροι παρειχον ε την τυχυσαν
φιλανθρωπιαν ἡμιν.

ST. *Paul*, having appealed to the judgment seat of *Cæsar*, is, with several other prisoners, committed to the charge of *Julius*, a Roman Centurion, to be transported forthwith to *Italy*. As the occurrences were remarkable, and the Apostle experienced great deliverances during this voyage, he is very particular in the description of it. He does not, however, tell us the port he first sailed from: nor is it at all material. It is said in the narrative,

that they came the next day to *Sidon:* from which circumstance it is probable they set out from *Ptolemäis*, or, as it was originally called, *Acon: Grotius* is of opinion they went from *Cæsarea*. Weighing from *Sidon* they passed under *Cyprus*, because the wind was contrary; and coasting *Cilicia* and *Pamphylia* they arrived at *Myra* in *Lycia*. Hitherto they had sailed in a ship of *Adramyttum;* from which they were now shifted to one of *Alexandria*, that was sailing to *Italy*. And making in many days but a slow progress, and with difficulty getting to the height of *Cnidos*, the wind still continuing unfavourable, they shaped their course south, to the most eastern point of *Crete*, under the promontory *Salmone:* and having hardly weathered that headland, they came to a port called the *Fair Havens*, near the city *Lasea*. Which port not being commodious to winter in, it was thought adviseable to try, if by any means they might attain to *Phenice*, and there winter. This was likewise a haven of *Crete*, that lay open to the north-west and south-west winds. They accordingly set sail; and had the advantage of a southern breeze, that sprung up, and carried them close under land. But in a short time a turbulent and tempestuous wind beat upon the coast; and that with such fury and violence, that they were not able αντοφθαλμειν, to face it: so that, running close under the island *Clauda*, and being obliged to let the ship drive,

they overshot the haven *Phenice:* and, after beating the seas fourteen days at the mercy of the tempest, they found themselves at last in the *Adria*, and were wrecked upon the island *Melita.* This wind is said to have been ανεμος τυφωνικος, a typhonic wind or hurricane, and was called by the mariners *Euroclydon.*

This is a short and succinct account of all that is relative to the navigation and journal of the Apostle. In which there are two circumstances that I shall make some remarks upon: the one is the tempestuous Wind before mentioned; the other is the Island, on which they were cast away.

In respect to the Wind, St. *Luke*, Chap. xxvii. v. 14. of the Acts, gives this particular account of it—Μετ' ου πολυ δε εβαλε κατ' αυτης ανεμος τυφωνικος, ὁ καλουμενος Ευροκλυδων. The reason of my taking notice of this passage is, that the *Alexandrine* MS. has a different reading; as has likewise the *Vulgate*, and all the translations from it: which reading is countenanced by many learned men; though there is no reason, that I can see, to admit any alteration. *Bochart, Grotius*, and *Bentley*, great and respectable names, (not to mention others) are offended at the present reading Ευροκλυδων; and think Ευρακυλων, or, as the *Vulgate* has it, *Euroaquilo* to be more agreeable to the truth. Dr. *Bentley* especially, in his excellent remarks upon *Free-thinking*, is very full upon this head. As his criticism is in this place

very extraordinary, I will present it to the reader at large; and then subjoin my own reasons for being intirely of a different opinion.

He argues in this wise—" The wind *Euroclydon* " was never heard of but here: it's compounded of " ευρος and κλυδων, the wind and the waves; and it " seems plain *à priori* from the disparity of those " two ideas, that they could not be joined in one " compound: nor is there any other example of the " like composition. But Ευρακυλων, or, as the vulgar " *Latin* here has it, *Euroaquilo* (approved by " *Grotius* and others) is so apposite to the context, " and to all the circumstances of the place; that it " may fairly challenge admittance, as the word of " St. *Luke*. 'Tis true, according to *Vitruvius*, " *Seneca*, and *Pliny*, who make *Eurus* to blow " from the winter solstice, and *Aquilo* between the " summer solstice and the north point; there can " be no such wind nor word as *Eurpaquilo*: be- " cause the *Solanus* or *Apheliotes* from the cardinal " point of east comes between them. But *Eurus* " is here to be taken, as *Gellius* II. 22. and the " *Latin* poets use it, for the middle æquinoctial " east, the same as *Solanus*: and then in the table " of the twelve winds according to the antients, " between the two cardinal winds *Septentrio* and " *Eurus*, there are two at stated distances, *Aquilo* " and Καικιας. The *Latins* had no *known name* for " Καικιας; *Quem ab oriente solstitiali excitatum* " *Græci* Καικιαν *vocant; apud nos sine nomine est,*

" says *Seneca*, Nat. Quest. v. 16. Καικιας therefore " blowing between *Aquilo* and *Eurus*, the *Roman* " seamen (for want of a specific word) might ex- " press the same wind by the compound name " *Euroaquilo;* in the same analogy as the *Greeks* " call Ευρονοτος the middle wind between *Eurus* and " *Notus;* and as you say now south-east and " north-east. Since therefore we have now found " that *Euroaquilo* was the *Roman* mariners word " for the *Greek* Καικιας; there will soon appear a " just reason why St. *Luke* calls it ανεμος τυφωνικος, a " tempestuous wind, *vorticosus*, a whirling wind; " for that's the peculiar character of Καικιας in " those climates; as appears from several authors, " and from that known proverbial verse,

" Ἑλκων εφ' αὐτον ὡς ὁ Καικιας νεφη.

" So that with submission I think our *Luther*'s " and the *Danish* version have done more right " than your *English* to the sacred text, by trans- " lating it NORD-OST, north-east: though accord- " ing to the present compass divided into XXXII. " *Euroaquilo* answers nearest to OST-NORD-OST, " east-north-east: which is the very wind that " would directly drive the ship from *Crete* to the " *African Syrtis*, according to the pilot's fears, in " the 17th verse."

Thus far this learned critic, whose first objection to the common and accepted reading I find to be,

that the wind *Euroclydon* was never heard of but here. To this I answer, that I do not think it right to deviate from the original text, and admit of any alteration, merely because a word is new to us. St. *Paul* was in a ship of *Alexandria*, a city that for three centuries had maintained the greatest traffic of any place in the world. As extensive trade always introduces new terms of art, and distinctions not known before; it is very possible for them to have had a name for a wind, that might not be current in *Attica* or the *Peloponnesus*. If then there be any thing uncommon in this appellation, there is no occasion to have recourse to *Gellius*, or fly to the Poets for authority: all may be very right, though not authenticated by them. Several *Grecian* nations had their particular names for months and festivals; and they might have their several distinctions for weather and for winds. Had not the *Athenians* their Ορνιθιαι, Χελιδονιαι, Προδρομοι, Ετησιαι, names not in use at *Alexandria?* why might not the *Alexandrians* in their turn have terms that were unknown at *Athens?* But the Doctor has a strange presumptive notion, that these were *Roman* sailors: and the whole of his argument turns upon it. But this he takes for granted without the least foundation. The mariners were doubtless *Greeks*, that had their particular terms and distinctions, which other countries were not acquainted with. Many winds are not denominated from the point they blow from; but from their effects and violence. How

many species of winds are there at this day taken notice of by sailors, and in common acceptation among those who experience them, that are little known out of the latitude they blow in! We read of *Levant* winds, *Trade* winds, *Monsoons*, *Cormantines*, *Hermatans*, and a suffocating blast, called a *Bloom*, on the coast of *Guinea*: they have the like scorching wind in *Persia*, called *Samael*, that comes from the mountains of Sulphur: add to these *Tramontanes*, *Travadoes*, *Tornadoes*, *Pupuguios*, *Summasentas*, *Terrenos*, and the very wind here mentioned, ανεμος τυφωνικος, which our sailors at this day call a *Tuffoon*. They are not therefore to be looked for on the mariner's card; nor to be rejected, if they be not in common use and acceptation: for the novelty of a term should not necessarily be an objection to it. The word is uncommon, we grant: but what is it, that we are to substitute in its room? Another word equally uncommon. Neither *Euroclydon* nor *Euroaquilo* are to be found but in this passage of the Acts; where one is a various reading to the other. "*Euroclydon*," says Dr. *Bentley*, "was never heard of but here:" he acknowledges presently afterwards the same of *Euroaquilo*. Why does he reject one reading for being singular, and admit another that is liable to the same objection? what is it that determines his choice?

It seems, "*Euroclydon* is an odd compound, "being made up of ευρος and κλυδων, wind and waves: "and it appears plainly *à priori* from the disparity

" of those two ideas, that they could not be joined " in one; nor is there another example of the like " composition." For my part, I can see no more disparity here, than I do in any other compounds; such as γεωργος, χειρωργος, κερκοπιθηκος, ναυπηγος &c. no more inconsistency between wind and water, than between mill and water, wind and mill, land and water, &c. &c.: from whence we have windmill, watermill, windsail; and, though a modern, yet a just compound, the *English* adjective, *Terraqueous*. Add to these words of an exact analogy, seabreeze, landbreeze, landgate, seagate, watergate. In all compositions of this nature, where there are two substantives, there is ever a verb understood, that connects the two terms: nor can there be any more impropriety in blending wind with water in *Euroclydon*, than in joining wind with wind in *Euroaquilo*. It is true, I should have taken the word *Euroclydon* to have signified an eastern swell, or a deep sea from the east: but, as the sacred writer tells us it was the name of a wind, it certainly implies a wind that makes such a swell from the east; *i. e.* when taken out of composition, Ευρος κλυζων, an east wind that causes a deep sea or vast inundation.

Thus much to make this reading feasible. But, were it otherwise, what would you substitute in its room? *Euroaquilo*, say the patrons of the *Vulgate*. But there was no such wind: and, had there been

such a one, yet it could not be that specified here; as I will abundantly prove hereafter.

In the first place, there never was, nor could be, such a wind as *Euroaquilo*. The learned writer, whose opinion I am controverting, takes uncommon pains to remove *Eurus* from the point where it is ever stationed, in order to compound it with a wind that it is really incompatible with. And how does he effect it? by means the most extraordinary: no less than by making *Gellius* and the *Latin* poets, whose authority he does not produce, the best judges to determine the establishment of the *Greek* winds, in contradiction to the *Greeks* themselves: all which labour is undertaken to introduce a reading as new and uncommon as that which he repudiates. And, in making use of *Roman* authority, he confessedly sets aside the evidence of the best and most respectable writers; and founds his opinion on the report of a single person, who will at last turn out a confused and a second-hand voucher. But let us attend to his words—"'Tis true, according to *Vitruvius*, *Seneca*, *Pliny*," (he might have added *Varro*, *Columella*, and of the *Greeks*, who were the best judges, *Aristotle*, *Timosthenes*, *Bio*, *Posidonius*, *Strabo*, &c.) according to the opinion of these, "there could be no such wind, nor word, as *Euroaquilo*: but *Eurus* is here to be taken, as *Gellius* II. 22. and the *Latin* poets use it, for the "middle æquinoctial east."—As to the poets, he

does not produce their evidence; nor is it worth producing, they write always so indeterminately, [1] and with such a latitude. The whole of the argument then rests upon *Gellius:* let us turn to him, and hear what he says.

He tells us nothing of himself, but only—*Favorinus ita fabulatus est*—Being at dinner with one *Favorinus*, that person discoursed at large about the winds, and ran counter to the opinions of the best writers that preceded him. Among other things that he determined, was the place of the wind *Eurus;* which, as far as we can understand him, he would fain remove from the eastern winter solstice, and make it the same as the *Solanus* and Αφηλιωτης: that is, instead of the south-east, he would place it in the eastern *Equinoctial* point. [2] But this *Favorinus* is

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[1] *Ovid* says,

Eurus *ad* Auroram Nabathæaque *regna recessit.* Metam. 1. 61.

That's not much amiss—*Virgil* places it in the vicinity of the north pole——*Septem subjecta* Trioni

Gens effrena virûm Riphæo tunditur Euro. Georg. 3. 381.

Can Dr. *Bentley* imagine that pilots and mariners were guided by such authorities? To speak the truth, *Virgil* means by *Eurus* the wind in general; just as he uses *dura silex* for any hard rock, *quercus* and *ilex* for any timber. Where he speaks of *Eurus* as infesting the climate, he just before mentioned the *Caurus* blowing —*Semper hiems, semper spirantes frigora* Cauri. The *Caurus* and *Eurus* are winds diametrically opposite.

[2] *Qui ventus igitur ab* Oriente verno, *id est,* æquinoctiali *venit, nominatur* Eurus—*is alio quoque à Græcis nomine* απηλιωτης, *à Romanis nauticis* Subsolanus *cognominatur.* Aul. Gell. Lug. Bat.

not of sufficient consequence to be opposed singly to the group of illustrious writers before mentioned. He was a Sophist; and does not in the present affair acquit himself with proper precision. The words of his commentator upon this very passage will give one a just idea what his authority merits: *Intricatè hìc loquitur* Favorinus; *et dubito an seipsum intellexerit; vel per* Eurum Euronotum *sive* Vulturnum *denotaverit. Sed quid commune* Vulturno *cum* Aquilone? &c. Thus all this laboured evidence vanishes in smoke; and it is the real opinion of his Scholiast, that the Sophist did not understand himself, any more than he is understood of others. —[3] So much for *Favorinus fabulator.*

1666. p. 160. Caurus—*adversus* Aquilonem *flat.* Favonius—*adversus* Eurum *flat.* p. 161: *Iapygem—eum esse propemodum* Caurum *existimo—videtur adversus* Eurum *flare.* pag. 163.

The whole of this dissertation in *Aulus Gellius* is a burlesque upon criticism; the chief speaker being so confused and inconsistent. Towards the close *Favorinus* tells us, that he was very near giving a long detail of all the winds that blow; "for really," says he, "I have taken a cup too much,—*quia paulo plus adbibi:* but it is not fair to have all the conversation to one's self." What makes it more ridiculous, is that *Gellius* assures us, all this was uttered with great elegance of words, and with peculiar grace and address in the delivery.—What signify grace and elegance, without perspicuity and precision? *Hæc nobis* Favorinus *in eo quo dixi tempore apud mensam suam summâ cum elegantiâ verborum totiusque sermonis comitate atque gratiâ denarravit.* p. 163. lib. 2. 22.

[3] Who could imagine, there would ever be any controversy about the particular stations of the *Greek* winds, as long as the

Another reason for my rejecting this reading of the *Vulgate* is the terms it is compounded of. For,

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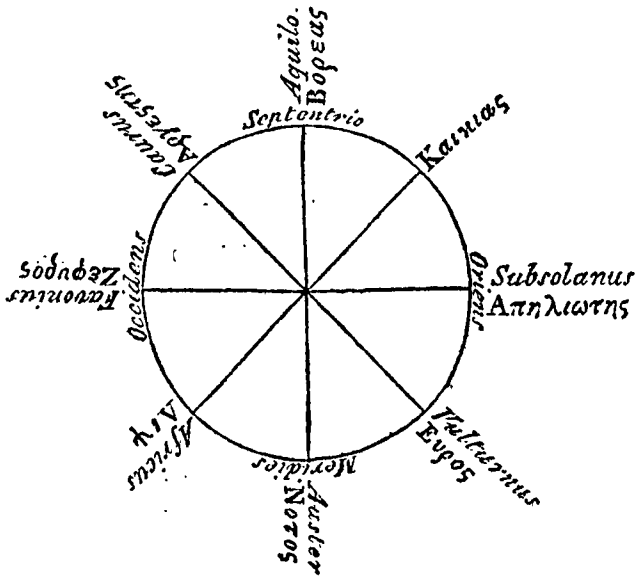
Octogon temple of *Andronicus Cyrrhestes* at *Athens*, commonly called *the Temple of the Winds*, was in being? It is intire, and has been described by Sir *George Wheler* and *Spon*. It has since been delineated at large by *Mons. Le Roy*, and still more accurately by Mr. *Stcuart*. *Vitruvius* and *Varro* quote its authority.



Agreeable to this is the determination of *Dionysius Uticensis* in his description of the *Grecian* winds. Απο των τεσσαρων κλιματων τεσσαρες αυθεντικοι πνεουσιν ανεμοι, ὁ Απηλιωτης, και ὁ Ζεφυρος, και ὁ Βορεας, και ὁ Νοτος. Ὁ μεν ουν Απηλιωτης απο ανατολικου κεντρου φερομενος εχει παραπνεοντας αυτον τον Ευρον, και τον Καικιαν, κ. τ. λ. *Geopon.* Edit. *Cantab.* p. 16.——In like manner *Vitruvius*—*Inter* Solanum *et* Austrum.—Eurus. lib. 1. cap. 6.

if the etymology of *Euroclydon* is unsatisfactory to *Grotius, Lipsiensis* and *Bochart;* that of *Euroaquilo* may be equally so to others. Those learned men seem to me to have proceeded on a wrong principle: for they think, as the *Greeks* compounded the two winds *Eurus* and *Notus*, and formed a third, that was a medium to the extremes; so *Eurus* and *Aquilo* might have been blended in the same manner, and a third called *Euroaquilo* have been constituted from them. But they do not sufficiently consider that in the former case the *Greeks* joined together two winds of *Greek* original; in doing which there was no impropriety: but there is a manifest impropriety in the latter case, where a *Greek* and a *Roman* wind are unnaturally combined: for *Eurus* is a *Greek* name, *Aquilo* a *Roman;* and they are for that reason incompatible, and inconsistent with each other. It is true, *Seneca* does say in his pointed and witty manner, that both *Eurus* and *Zephyrus* were in his time admitted into the *Roman* language:[4] *Eurus* jam *civitate donatus est, et nostro sermoni non tanquam alienus intervenit;* "*Eurus* has had at last the freedom of the city "presented him, and no more passes among us as a

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Ab Oriente *æquinoctiali* Subsolanus; *ab* Oriente *brumali* Vulturnus: *illum* Apelioten, *hunc* Eurum *Græci appellant.* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 2. cap. 47. Edit. Harduin.

[4] Nat. Quæst. lib. 5. cap. 16.

" foreigner :" *Favonium*—Zephyrum *esse dicent tibi, etiam qui græcè nesciunt loqui ;* " even those " that cannot speak *Greek* will tell you that *Zephyrus* is the same as *Favonius.*" From whence we may gather that these words were in some degree admitted at *Rome* among people of rank and letters: but, if the author means that they were become the current language of the *Romans*, he expresses himself in a very lax manner. *Pliny* himself makes use of this word more than once; yet tells us [5] very expressly that for *Eurus* the *Romans* had *Vulturnus*, for *Boreas* they used *Aquilo*—and he lived after *Seneca.* For it does not follow, because a word is in vogue within the verge of the court, or in use with the learned, that it is [6] immediately in general acceptation. Sea-faring people keep long to their own terms : pilots and mariners come but late into the fashion. But, as this may be matter of uncertainty, let us abide by *Seneca*, where he speaks fully to the purpose ; which he does, when he proves there was no such wind as *Euroaquilo*, by saying, the wind that answered to Καικιας had among the *Romans* no name.

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[5] Hist. Nat. lib. 18. cap. 34. Edit. Hurduin.

[6] We have many instances of this in *French* words, that are used by people of rank, and adopted into the *English* language, which the commonalty are not acquainted with. I dare say, the wind *Eurus* was no more in use among the *Roman* sailors, than the *Levant* or *Ponent* are among the *British.*

And here I cannot but take notice of the strangest inference that I believe was ever made. The words of *Seneca* I have mentioned before—*Quem* Græci Καικιαν *vocant, apud nos sine nomine est.* As this writer was contemporary with St. *Paul,* one would think his testimony decisive; and might naturally expect it to be used to prove there was no such word in the language. But Dr. *Bentley* makes quite a different inference—"As the *Roman* seamen had "no specific word, they probably might express it "by the compound *Eurouquilo;*" and he afterwards tells you he found that they did so: all which, stript of its specific distinction, amounts in plain *English* to this—Since *Seneca* assures us the *Romans* had no name for this wind, the *Roman* sailors must for that very reason have had one: which distinction between the *Romans* and *Roman* sailors is truly curious.[7] This is the first time, I believe, a writer's authority is used to contradict his own testimony; and

[7] The process of this investigation is worth attending to. The scope of Dr. *Bentley*'s argument is this—*Seneca* assures us that the *Romans* had no name for this *Greek* wind; consequently the *Roman* sailors had none: as the *Roman* sailors had no name for it, they probably invented one; and hence we find they had one. To all which I subjoin, to complete the argument; as the *Roman* sailors had a name for it, certainly the *Romans* had. Thus you may, by this subtle way of reasoning, prove that the *Romans,* at one and the same time, had and had not a name for the thing in dispute.

a supposition inferred from positive evidence to the contrary. As *Seneca* and *Pliny* were both of them philosophers, and wrote particularly on this subject; it cannot be supposed that they could be ignorant of a circumstance of this nature.

I have already observed, that, through the whole course of Dr. *Bentley's* reasoning, the mariners are supposed to be *Romans*. This is without any hesitation taken for granted; though there is not the least show of evidence to countenance the opinion. Are we to imagine, because the *Romans* conquered all the world, that they navigated every ship upon the seas? The Evangelist does not tell us, that this was an *Italian* ship coming from *Alexandria*; but an *Alexandrine* ship going to *Italy*. It is therefore wonderful that *Cluver*, *Bochart*, *Grotius*, and, I believe, every writer upon the subject, should overlook this circumstance, that entirely subverts their hypothesis. There is not the least reason to imagine that the mariners were from *Italy*. *Alexandrine* ships were navigated by people of *Alexandria*; as appears by a ship from that place, which *Lucian* in a serious *Platonic*[8] dialogue gives a very particular account of. It set out from the *Pharos* laden with corn; and was to bring back in return the amount of twelve *Attic* talents to the owner. Had the

[8] Πλοιον ἡ Ευχαι.

crew been *Romans*, it could not but have been mentioned. From the name of the pilot, and the conversation held in the *Piræeus* by the *Athenians* with the master of the ship, and indiscriminately with the sailors, it is plain they had the same language, and consequently were *Greeks* of *Alexandria*. It is observable the name of the ship was the *Isis*; and it had the image of that goddess on the prow.

There are many other accounts of *Alexandrine* ships, that will prove what I maintain. Various authors speak of them, particularly [9] *Cicero*, [10] *Suetonius*, [11] *Seneca*, [12] *Strabo*. As the trade they carried on was immense, and at the same time is a circumstance closely connected with my subject; I hope the reader will excuse me, if I dwell a little upon this head, and lay the nature and process of this navigation before him. Their chief commodity was corn, which they exported annually for *Italy* to a great amount. This was a freight of such consequence, that many laws were enacted under different emperors for its regulation and dispatch. The mariners particularly were under great restrictions, [13] being obliged to use their utmost diligence; and

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[9] Orat. *pro* Rab. Post. 15.
[10] In Augusto & Nerone.
[11] Senec. Epist. 77.
[12] Lib. 5. *item* lib. 17.
[13] Cod. l. XI. Tit. 1. 6.

were liable to a capital punishment, if they unnecessarily went out of their course. [14] The magistrates and commissaries on shore suffered a total confiscation of their estates, if they were convicted of mismanagement. [15] In short, no delay was allowed: for imperial *Rome*, the mistress of nations and pride of the universe, was often in want of bread. No city suffered at times greater scarcity; nor was there any gratuity to the people more acceptable than a donative of corn. For this reason *Augustus*, when he reduced *Egypt* into the form of a province, opened the canals of the *Nile*, that had been obstructed and spoiled: and exacted by way of tribute a certain portion of wheat, to be annually sent to *Italy*. The amount of this impost was incredibly great. If we may credit *Aurelius Victor*, [16] it was no less than twenty millions of *Roman* Modii: *hujus (Augusti scil.) tempore ex Ægypto urbi annua ducenties centena millia frumenti inferebantur*; which in our measure is above one hundred and sixty thousand tun: [17] an amazing quantity, yet

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[14] L. 7. c. *de* Naviculariis.

[15] L. 8. c.—L. 4. C.

[16] *Epitome de Vita et Moribus Imp. Roman.*

[17] The *English* gallon by a statute of *Henry* VII. was to be eight pounds: consequently the peck sixteen; to which the *Roman* modius was equivalent, or rather somewhat more. Now 20,000,000 *Roman* modii or pecks × 16 = 320,000,000 pounds *Troy*. Which 320,000,000 divided by 2000 the number of pounds

only one third of what was raised from the *African* provinces. This was originally brought over in ships [18] of great burden; that, at the same time, imported drugs, spices, silk, tapestry, glass, [19] in short all the produce and merchandise of the east. They

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in a tun, give 160,000, the amount in tunnage of this importation from *Egypt*.

The import of corn then from *Egypt* annually was 160,000 tun; which at times must have amounted to no less than a million sterling. This was the consumption at *Rome* in three months; being one third only of the corn supplied from *Afric*, besides what came from *Sicily* and other places. *Arbuthnot* on Weights and Measures. p. 88. and 121.

This will appear less extraordinary, when we are told that *Ptolemy Philadelphus* raised every year from the same country of *Egypt* three times this quantity; as appears from St. *Jerome* on the ninth chapter of *Daniel*.

[18] The ship mentioned by *Lucian* was 180 feet long, 60 wide, and about 44 feet from the upper deck to the keel. The *Soleil Royal* is in length 182, 48 broad, and, if I mistake not, about 44 deep.

	Feet	Inches
The *Royal George*, of 100 guns, from the extreme part of the figure at the head of the taffarel .	212	9
Length of the lower deck	178	0
Extreme breadth	51	0
Depth in the hold	22	6
Height from the bottom of the keel to the waist .	45	6
Height from the bottom of the keel to the taffarel	61	6
Burthen in tons	2000	

In the computation and measurement of the *Alexandrine* ship I allow one foot and half to a cubit.

[19] Mart. lib. 13. Epigr. 72.

generally set out together, forming a large fleet called *Commeatus Alexandrinus*, and made use of *Puteoli*[20] for an harbour; drawing, I imagine, too much water for the *Tiber*. Before them went some light frigates, called *Præcursores* and *Tabellariæ*, to give notice of their approach. They were always so welcome on account of their freight, that they had the privilege of entering the harbour with their *supparum* or topsail displayed: an honour no other foreign ships were allowed. *Puteoli* was in those times the great emporium of *Italy*: and its mole is represented as a wonderful structure; being founded on stone piles, that were formed of a particular cement which hardened in the water: and taking in a mighty circumference, so that a large navy might ride securely within its barrier. *Strabo*, speaking of these fleets,[21] takes notice that, in respect to *Italy*, the imports and exports were very different. "The ships came, he says, slow and deep laden; but "returned home light and nimble." Γνοιη δ' αν τις εν τε τη Αλεξανδρειᾳ και τη Δικαιαρχιᾳ γενομενος, ὁρων τας ὁλκαδας εν τε τῳ καταπλῳ, και εν ταις αναγωγαις, ὁσον βαρυτεραι τε και κυφοτεραι δευρο καἰκεισε πλεοιεν. From this account we may, I think, be assured of the country that these ships are to be referred to. They came to *Italy*, as it were to a mart; but *Egypt* was their retreat and home. There was a *Pharos*

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[20] Senec. Epist. 77.

[21] Vol. 2. p. 1142. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

or lighthouse near *Puteoli*, towards the building and repairing of which the *Alexandrine* ships paid a toll in common with other foreign vessels. There is an [22] inscription extant to that purpose. This *Pharos*, I imagine, was situated in the island *Capreæ*; the same that was thrown down by an earthquake just before [23] the death of *Tiberius*, and was afterwards rebuilt. It is alluded to by *Statius* in speaking of this coast;

[24] *Teleboumque domos, trepidis ubi dulcia nautis*
Lumina noctivagæ tollit Pharos æmula lunæ.

There is another inscription mentioned by *Grævius*, that is a further confirmation of what I have been maintaining. It contains the wishes of some *Alexandrine* commanders for the health and long life of the Emperor *Commodus*:

ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΜΟΝΗΣ
ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ
ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ
ΟΙ ΝΑΥΚΛΗΡΟΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΡΕΥΤΙΚΟΥ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΝΟΥ ΣΤΟΛΟΥ.[25]

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[22] Gruter.

[23] Sueton. in Tiberio. c. 74.

[24] Sylv. Lib. 3. *ad Claudiam Uxorem.* Vers. 100.

[25] There is something particular in the original form of the letters, that this inscription is composed of. It is at *Rome* in the

This inscription being in *Greek* seems to indicate, that those who composed it were of that nation. If these officers had been *Romans*, they would have paid this compliment to their Emperor in their native language.

I thought it would not be unentertaining to the reader to have this short history of the trade of *Alexandria* laid before him: which I have been pretty full in describing; as it is much to the present purpose, and of some consequence in respect to a subsequent inquiry. We may learn from many particulars here mentioned the true country of the persons who navigated the Apostle's ship. They came from the same place with those specified above, and on the same errand, to carry corn to *Italy;* but whether on a public or a private account, is uncertain. It is probable, they set out with the grand fleet, but were very early separated by stress of weather: which was perhaps the reason of their meeting with another ship afterwards from the same port; that had undergone the like disaster, and lost its passage. It is sufficient, that every circumstance evinces, they were *Greeks* of *Alexandria:* they had therefore a name for this wind; and cannot be supposed to have unnecessarily

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Belvedere; and it seems to be carefully copied by *Jos. Scaliger* in his animadversions on Euseb. Chron. p. 119.

adopted one of a foreign manufacture, one too of so barbarous a construction.[26]

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[26] *Lucian* plainly intimates that the principal person was a *Grecian*, and paints him very particularly. And here I cannot but take notice of a great oversight in historians; who, in their descriptions of nations, sit down contented with giving us the battles, confederacies, and achievements, that are in common to people of every denomination and climate: but the strong national outlines and constitutional marks they forget to exhibit. Now we are pleased, when we are made acquainted with the particular turn of mind and disposition of any nation: and are glad to proceed farther, and to survey the personal distinctions and characteristics; and to have the dress, air, and habit, as it were in a picture, presented before us. In the passage alluded to above, *Lucian* gives us such a picture of a *Greek* of *Alexandria*. He describes him as issuing out of his apartments in the ship, neatly dressed, and making a gay appearance; having his hair combed back, and tied with great exactness according to the fashion of his country. But when this trim personage comes to be more nearly examined, and compared with a native *Athenian*: he falls infinitely short in the opinion of those who behold him; as *Lycinus*, one of the interlocutors, witnesses—Και μην ω παυυ καλος, ω Σαμιππε, ὁ μειρακισκος εδοξε μοι—ὁυτος γαρ, προς τῳ μελαγχρως ειναι, και προχειλος εστι, και λεπτος αγαν τοιν σκελοιν· και εφθιγγετο επισεσυρμενον τι και συνεχες και επιτροχον, Ἑλληνιστι μεν, ες το πατριον δε τῳ ψοφῳ και τῳ της φωνης τονῳ. We have here the national marks of this person strongly delineated. He seems to have been a *Mestize*: his countenance being deeply bronzed; his lips protuberant; his legs dry and thin; and the tone of his voice foreign, and his manner of speaking somewhat inarticulate and hasty. In short, we see here a *Greek* insensibly verging towards an *Ethiopian*. Many people think the *Negroes* are a distinct

But what occasion is there for going these lengths to prove the impropriety of this word, which, at first sight, is manifest from the context. Dr. *Bentley* insists that the *Vulgate* and *Alexandrine* reading is the true one. Let us for once allow it, and attend to the consequence. *Euroaquilo* is then to be inserted in the table of *Roman* winds, and to answer to the *Cæcias* of the *Greeks*. In consequence of this, St. *Luke* is made to say, μετ' ου πολυ δε εβαλε κατ' αυτης ανεμος τυφωνικος, ὁ καλεμενος Ευραικυλων; that there came upon them a violent typhonic wind, called *Euroaquilo*. I would only ask what is the meaning of Ευραικυλων? It is said to be an ENE! or, in

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species from the rest of mankind: but I do not perceive any reason for such a notion. Who can doubt, that sees a *Greek* thus sunk into an *Egyptian*, but that an *Egyptian* by degrees may degenerate to a *Caffre*?

There is a passage in *Plautus*, that will aways be acceptable on the same account as the foregoing. It is in the *Pœnulus*, Act. 5. Sc. 2. where the author gives us a general idea of the *Carthaginian* women from *Giddenemc*, a native of those parts. *Hanno* had been inquiring what was the make and figure of a particular person—*Han. Scd earum Nutrix, qua sit facie, mihi expedi. Milphio* answers—*Staturâ haud magnâ, corpore aquilo—Specie venustâ, ore parvo, atque oculis pernigris.* Making allowance for the times, one would imagine he was describing some beautiful *Moor* of *Andalusia* or *Grenada*. If the accounts transmitted to us are true, these original marks were not erased when the *Moriscoes* left *Spain*: and the *Saracen* blood must have been deeply tinctured with the *Punic*.

round terms, a north-east wind—Construe it so, and see what sense can be made of it—" In a short time " there beat upon it a typhonic wind called a north-" east," or a hurricane, or a violent storm, or what you please, called a north-east wind. Try every way, and you will still be disappointed. Here is an extraordinary circumstance mentioned; and you expect it to be called by a particular appellation: but you meet with nothing satisfactory: the *species* is denominated by the *genus*, a retrograde way of determination; and the name [27] that should discriminate affords not the distinction required. *Euroaquilo* is a stationed wind: and may be referred to as a general point for all winds that blow in that direction, taking in all from the slightest breeze to the strongest gale. This typhonic wind is mentioned as a species; and therefore cannot be denominated by a general term: because a general denomination does not specify nor distinguish. If a writer informs us that, on the coast of *Malabar*, they have a *Monsoon* called a south-west; how does this particularize or explain? The converse, indeed, affords a proper distinction; they have a south-west wind called a *Monsoon:* the other is false: for the south-west is not a species of periodical wind, and consequently cannot be the specific name of one. There

[27] We define things by general terms; but they are called by specific and particular ones.

is a fallacy in the usage of this word, that at first is not so apparent: as long as it occurs in its original foreign garb Ευραχυλων, it is more easily taken for the specific name of this typhonic wind; being an unusual term, and seemingly not unapplicable to an uncommon subject. Strip it of its primitive dress; that is, call it plain north-east, and refer it to the table of the winds, or its place in the heavens: the fallacy then ceases, and the misapplication appears. It is curious to see the embarrassment of the first translators of the New Testament into *English* about this passage, *ventus Typhonicus, qui vocatur Euroaquilo. Tyndale*[28] and his followers sacrifice the letter to the sense, and call "it a flawe of wynde out of the north-east;" taking no notice of the words, *qui vocatur: but anone after there arose agaynst their purpose a flawe of wynde out of the north-east.* On the other hand *Myles Coverdale*,[29] *Bonner*, and others choose to abide by the letter, and so run into an absurdity. They translate it, *a flaw of wind which is called the north-east*. And *Hollybush, a*

[28] See *Tyndale*'s Testament printed about the years 1528 and 1530, and the edition of 1536, 4to; also those in *Edward* the Sixth's reign. See likewise *Grafton*'s great Bible, 1541, overlooked by Bp. *Tonstall;* and the translations from the version of *Erasmus*.

[29] The first edition of the Bible by *Coverdale*, 1535. fol. New Testament under *Bonner*'s inspection, 1538, at *Paris*, dedicated to Lord *Cromwell*. New Test. printed at *Southwerk*, 1538.

tempestuous wind, which is called north-east. But the translators afterwards, seeing this dilemma, had recourse to the original *Greek;* and remedied the difficulty by inserting the true reading.

But on the other hand, it is to be observed that the word *Euroclydon* is not attended with these improprieties: and though, by setting aside the former reading, this may seem sufficiently authenticated; yet I think it may be further proved to be the true reading from the tenor of the text—μετ' ου πολυ δε εβαλε κατ' αυτης ανεμος τυφωνικος: "not long "after there beat upon it," says our translation indefinitely—beat upon what? certainly, κατα νησου, upon the island *Crete*, under which they ran; for this is the last thing mentioned, that it can be referred to: "there beat upon the island a tempes-"tuous wind called *Euroclydon.*" Now, without doubt, when a storm comes upon a place, it must beat upon it, let it come from any point whatever. Yet, had the wind blown off from the shore, St. *Luke* would not have used the expression εβαλε κατ' αυτης, "beat upon the island;" because it is a relative expression, referring to the situation of the person who speaks of it, who was at that time to the windward or south of it. It is plain therefore, the wind blew upon shore; and must have come from the south or south-east. This is fully warranted from the point where the ship was, and the direction it ran in afterwards, which was towards the north and north-west, as I shall prove in the sequel.

All these circumstances agree well with *Euroclydon;* but are not compatible with any other wind.

After saying, the *Roman* sailors might express the wind by the compound *Euroaquilo*, Dr. *Bentley* concludes; "Since therefore we have now found "that *Euroaquilo* was the *Roman* mariners word for "the *Greek* Καικιας."—This is most decisive work, from a supposed possibility to infer a certainty. But to proceed—"Since we have found *Euroaquilo* "to be the true reading, there will soon appear a "just reason why St. *Luke* calls it ανεμος τυφωνικος, a "tempestuous wind, *vorticosus*, a whirling wind," &c. This is a great mistake, and the order of the terms is inverted. St. *Luke* does not call the wind *Euroaquilo* a tempestuous wind, but the reverse. He is made to call a tempestuous wind, *Euroaquilo* —"[30] there beat upon it a tempestuous wind called "the north-east"—which reading is so preposterous that it ruins at once all Dr. *Bentley* has been labouring to establish. Such are the difficulties this learned man has involved himself in, to support a favourite reading: so hard it is to render a stubborn text pliant, and warp it to our wishes.

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[30] Εβαλε κατ' αυτης ανεμος τυφωνικος, ὁ καλουμενος Ευρακυλων.

OF THE

ISLAND MELITE.

HAVING thus dispatched, and, I hope, satisfactorily, what I first premised to take in hand, I come now to the second part, which was to ascertain the particular Island, on which the Apostle St. *Paul* was shipwrecked. This, one would imagine, could be attended with no difficulty: for it is very plainly expressed, that, after having been tossed for some time in the *Adria*, they were at last cast upon the island *Melite*. The only question is, which is the sea called *Adria*, or *Adriatic*; and what island can be found in that sea mentioned by such a name.

The *Adriatic* sea is that large gulf that lies between *Italy* and the antient *Illyria*, and retains its name to this day. And as to the island we are in quest of, there was one in that sea called *Melite*, which is taken notice of under that name by the best geographical writers. *Scylax Caryandensis*, enumerating the islands of that sea, speaks of *Melite* very particularly; placing it not far from the

river *Naro*, and the neighbouring *Isthmus*, in the district of the *Nestiæans*, who were an *Illyrian* nation.[1] Πριν επι τον Ναρωνα ποταμον παραπλευσαι, πολλη χωρα ανηκει σφοδρα εις Θαλασσαν· και νησος της παραλιας χωρας εγγυς, ᾗ ονομα Μελιτη. He says it was twenty stadia from *Corcyra Melæna*, or the black *Corcyra*. *Agathemerus*, taking notice of *Melite* and the adjacent islands, mentions them in this order:[2] Εισι δε και εν τῳ Αδριᾳ νησοι παρα την Ιλλυριδα, ὡν επισημοτεραι Ισσα, και ᾗ Μελαινα Κορκυρα, και Φαρος, και Μελιτη. *Ptolemy* calls them *Dalmatian* islands, and enumerates them thus:[3] Ισσα, Τραγυριον και πολις, Φαρια και πολις, Κορκυρα ᾗ μελαινα, Μελιτινη νησος. They are likewise spoken of by *Pliny*,[4] who mentions *Brattia* and *Issa;* and says, *Ab his Corcyra, Melæna cognominata, cum Cnidiorum oppido, distat* XXV. M. *passuum*; *inter quam et Illyricum Melita, unde catulos Melitæos appellari Callimachus auctor est.* It is mentioned by *Antoninus*[5] in his *Itinerarium maritimum.* From these authorities we find that *Melite* was an *Illyrian* island in the *Adriatic* sea, in the province of the *Nestiæans;* and that it lay between *Corcyra nigra* and the main land, very

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[1] Vide Geogr. Antiq. Gronov. Lugd. Bat. 1700 p. 18.

[2] Ibid. p. 193.

[3] Geogr. lib. 2. ad finem.

[4] Hist. Nat. lib. 3. cap. ult. Edit. Harduin.

[5] Vide p. 115. Edit. Lugdun.

near the river *Naro* and the *Isthmus* above it. It was called by the antients *Melite*, *Melitene*, and [6] *Melitussa*; at this day *Melede*, and by the *Sclavonians*, *Mleet*; and is in the jurisdiction of *Ragusa*. This was the place, to which *Agesilaus* the father of *Oppian* the poet was banished by *Severus*; upon a notion that he had not shewn that Emperor proper respect. [7] His son attended him during his confinement, and in that interval composed his *Halieutics* and *Cynegetics*, which some years after he carried to *Rome*. They gained him great reputation, especially with *Caracalla*, the succeeding Emperor; who, together with the Empress *Julia Domna*, his mother, was complimented in these poems. The author was ordered to ask any gratuity: but he only requested his father's enlargement. This was immediately granted; and he was honoured with a piece of gold for every verse besides. As to the *catuli Melitenses* mentioned by *Callimachus*, they are by some ascribed to *Malta*; but it is a mistake. These dogs were an *Illyrian* breed; and very common in *Magna Græcia*, and those places that had any correspondence with the *Greek* colonies in the *Adriatic*: but, of all others, they were in greatest esteem among the *Sybarites*, the most languid and indolent people upon earth;

[6] Polybius apud Steph. Byzant.

[7] Anon. vita Oppiani.

who made these animals attend them to the baths, carrying in their mouths the little implements for bathing.

There is a gem mentioned in the [8] *Museum Florentinum*, with a representation of one of these dogs, and a short account of them subjoined. *Canum Melitæorum, quorum meminit Athenæus, lib. 12. cap. 3. ea laus fuit, sequi euntes ad balneum. Servi officium hi implebant, olei guttum et strigiles ferentes, quibus domini ungerentur destringerenturque; uti hæc rarissima et pulcherrima gemma ostendit.*[9] This short account of the island I thought proper to lay before the reader; to shew that such a place existed, and to take off any prejudice that might arise from its supposed obscurity.

From what has been said, the point would be settled past controversy, were it not for an island of the same name, situated at a great distance in the *African* sea. It has been the common opinion that the *Melite* now called *Malta* was the true place of the Apostle's shipwreck: and the natives have a tradition of long standing to support this notion. Yet, however general this may have been, I think it may be fairly proved that it could not be the island mentioned by the Evangelist. Herein I differ again from *Grotius*, *Cluver*, *Beza*, *Bentley*, and from

[8] Vol. 2. tab. 20.

[9] See tab. 1.

[10] *Bochart*, that curious, indefatigable, and particularly learned man. He has taken much pains to prove the tradition is well grounded, and that *Malta* is the place upon which St. *Paul* resided. But, in doing this, he takes many things for granted that cannot be allowed him; and speaks with too great a latitude: so that the whole seems a force and a strain, and can never be made to agree with the text.

The grand difficulty, and, indeed, an insurmountabe one, lies here; that, as St. *Paul* says expressly that the island he was cast upon was in the *Adria*, *Malta*, to be proved the place spoken of, must be made an *Adriatic* island. To effect this, the learned *Bochart* labours hard. He shews, first, that the sea we are speaking of incroached upon the *Ionian*; that it extended itself to the *Sinus Corinthiacus*: then, in order, it engrossed the *Sicilian* sea and the *Cretan*: and thus, advancing step by step, he includes *Malta* within its verge; makes the coast of *Africa* washed by its waves; and would persuade you that *Leptis* in *agro Tripolitano* was situated upon the *Adriatic* coast. All this he does upon the authority of the poets, and a few of the later historians.

As for the poets, their evidence is not worth taking notice of: they make every thing subservient

[10] See also *Jos. Scaliger* de Emendat. Temp. p. 535. *Colon.* 1629.

to measure. Yet, even of these, nothing he quotes comes up to his purpose. The learned writer seems to make use of their trespasses, merely to prepare the reader for what is to come; that he may not be too much shocked at the violence of the after-evidence. What *Ovid* and *Tibullus* say is only preparatory; *Philostratus* and *Pausanias* come but half way: those that speak to the purpose are *Procopius*, *Orosius* and *Æthicus*. These are they that advance the *Adriatic* to the confines of *Barca*; and by the same way of proceeding might make *Carthage* itself, if they pleased, an appendage to *Ragusa*.

But we ought to inquire of what rank and of what age the writers are, whose authority he appeals to: for, in producing the testimony of authors, it is not sufficient to be told what is said, unless we are likewise informed when, and by whom, it was delivered. We know that *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, *Pliny* tell another story: it is therefore necessary to consider the character of these persons that are to overturn such established authority. If we make a just estimate of them, even with *Suidas* and *Hesychius* added to their number; (for they too are quoted) what will they be found? doubtless, writers of some eminence in their several times; so let them have their due: who lived, however, many centuries after the fact we are determining. So that all you can learn from their evidence in respect to St. *Paul* and his shipwreck is, how things were called four or

five hundred years afterwards. This is the very utmost it will amount to; which is very little to the present purpose: for we must make use of the times we are treating of for a standard; and not be guided by the mistakes and extravagancies of after ages. The only way to arrive at the truth, is to learn the sentiments of the best authors who lived in, or near to, the times we are engaged in; and observe how things were defined and specified when the Apostle wrote. The learned *Bochart* would fain prove *Malta* to be an island in the *Adriatic* sea: I think I can shew his scheme to be impracticable.[11] In doing which, I shall not descend for evidence to the fourth, fifth, or any lower centuries; but confine myself to the testimony of writers who were either contemporaries, or not many years antecedent or subsequent to the apostolic age.

As *Bochart* seems to be the fullest of any body upon this subject, and comprehends every thing that others have said in favour of it; I will lay before the reader the whole of his arguments in order.

" *Sed altera hìc sese offert majoris momenti quæstio, ad utram* [*Insulam*] *appulerit Paulus*—

Primo enim Act. 27. 13, 14. *Circa Cretam cum navigarent Paulus, excitatur* ἄνεμος τυφωνικὸς ὁ καλούμενος Εὐροκλύδων, ventus turbulentus, qui vocatur Euroclydon; *vel, ut legit Vulgatus interpres,* Εὐροάκυ-

[11] Geogr. Sacr. Pars alt. lib. 1. cap. 26.

λων, Euroaquilo: *quam lectionem si sequaris, res est confecta: neque enim* Euroaquilo *potuit è Cretâ navem in Illyricum impellere. Præstitisset id Euronotus, non subcontrarius* Euroaquilo, *ut docet situs locorum. Sed, quoquo modo legas, ventum illum Euroclydonem in Austrum inclinâsse potius quàm in Septentrionem inde palam est; quòd, illo flante, nautæ metuunt ne in Africæ Syrtim incidant; Act.* 27. 17: *nihil tale formidaturi, si ventus navem in Illyricum impulisset, quæ ora est Syrti et Africæ obversa.*

2. *Act* 27. 41. περιπεσοντες εις τοπον διθαλασσον επωκειλαν την ναυν; cum incidissent in locum bimarem, illiserunt navem. *In locum bimarem, id est, in isthmum. Horatius, Od.* 7. *lib.* 1.

Aut Ephesum bimarisve Corinthi
Mœnia.

Ovid. Eleg. 10. *lib.* 1. *Trist.*

Aut postquam bimarem cursu superavimus isthmum.

Hic isthmus ad insulæ ortum æstivum hodieque ostenditur, et vocatur ab incolis la Cala di S. Paolo, *S. Pauli appulsus.*

3. *Act.* 28. 7. Circa locum illum erant χωρια τω πρωτω της νησε, ονοματι Ποπλιω; prædia primo insulæ, nomine Publio. *Eum intelligo, quem insulæ Romani præfecerant: nam hujus insulæ præfectos ita*

nominari solitos et ex hoc loco colligere est, et ex veteri epitaphio, quod in marmore Græcis literis se Melitæ vidisse refert Quintinus: Λ. ΚΑ. ΤΙΟΣ. ΚΥΡ. ΙΠΠΕΥΣ. ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ. ΠΡΩΤΟΣ. ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ. *L. Ca. Filius. Cyr. Eques. Romanorum. Primus Melitensium. Nempe idem antea nominis fuerat præfectis Carthaginiensibus, qui Punicâ phrasi dicebantur* הראשונים, Primi.—

4. *Tres menses continuos in illâ insulâ hæsit Paulus cum centurione et aliis, Act.* 28. 11; *qui numerus hominum fuit* CCLXXVI, *Act.* 27. 37. *Quod vix quisquam crediderit de Illyricâ Melite: quia, cùm non nisi quatuor passuum millibus à continenti distet, et Epidaurum in conspectu habeat, portum celeberrimum et hospitibus commodissimum; centurio Romanus maluisset eò trajicere, quàm totam hiemem in miserâ insulâ degere, in quâ tam multos advenas sine gravibus incommodis diversari fuisset nefas.*

5. *Jam quòd iidem dicuntur Puteolos vecti fuisse in Alexandrinâ nave, quæ in eâdem insulâ hiemaverat, Act.* 28. 11; *quis de Illyricâ Melite intellexerit? cùm ab Ægypto Puteolos contendentibus Africana Melite penè invitis sese offerat: At quisquis Alexandriâ Puteolos iturus Illyricam Meliten petit, meritò dici queat, sin minùs toto cœlo, saltèm toto salo aberrâsse.*

6. *Hoc potissimùm, quod Lucas è Melite profectos addit primò Syracusas, deinde Rhegium appulisse.*

Act 28. 12, 13: *Quæ via, quàm est recta, si profectio fuit ex Africanâ Melite; tam flexuosa fuerit et præpostera, si ex Illyricâ discesserunt: è quâ potius per Rhegium Syracusas iter est, quàm per Syracusas, Rhegium; quia Rhegium est vicinius.*

7. *Jam, si auctoritate certatur, Constantino Porphyrogennetâ longè antiquior est Arator subdiaconus, qui sic habet, lib.* 2. *Historiæ Apostolicæ;*

Sicanio lateri tellus vicina Melite.

Nec difficile est solvere quicquid contrà objiciunt. Nam in Adriâ quidem jactari dicitur navis appulsura Meliten, Act. 27. 27: *non tamen in Adriatico sinu, quo multò latiùs patet Adria, seu, quod idem est, Adriaticum mare. Sinus enim Adriaticus cum Illyrico desinit: at mare Adriaticum idem est cum Ionio. Hesychius:* Ιονιον, πελαγος ὁ νυν Αδριας, *Ionium,* mare quod nunc Adria. *Juvenalis vetus Scholiastes:* diu navigatura de Tyrrheno mari ad Adriacum: *Adriacum pro Ionio dixit. Ita enim Juvenalis;*

Tyrrhenos igitur fluctus, lateque sonantem
Pertulit Ionium.

Hinc Ptolemæus Siciliam ab ortu, Epirum et Achaiam à meridie, et Peloponnesum adeoque Cretam ab occasu definit Adriatico pelago. Et in Ovidio

non semel Adriam ab Ægæo dividit isthmus Corinthiacus. Sic lib. 4. *Fastorum :*

Adriacumque patens latè bimaremque Corinthum.

Et lib. 1. *Trist. Eleg.* 10.

Aut hæc me, gelido tremerem cum mense Decembri,
Scribentem mediis Adria vidit aquis :
Aut postquam bimarem cursu superavimus isthmum,
Alteraque est nostræ sumpta carina fugæ.

Proinde Philostratus, lib. 2. *Imaginum in Palæmone eum isthmum scribit* Αιγαιᾳ καὶ Αδριᾳ μεσον κεισθαι, medium esse inter mare Ægæum et Adriaticum. *Et in Apollonio suo, lib.* 4. *cap.* 8. *Neronem idem tradit de hoc isthmo scindendo cogitâsse, ut Adriaticum Ægæo mari misceret. Eodem facit, quòd Alpheus apud Suidam in* Αλφειος *et rursus in* Αρεθουσα, *è Peloponneso in Siciliæ Arethusam influere legitur.* δυομενος δια της Αδριαδος θαλασσης, pelagus subiens per mare Adriaticum. *Hinc de Alpheo Pausanias in Arcadicis :* Εμελλε δε αρα μηδε Αδριας επισχησειν αυτου τω ῥοσω : neque illius cursum Adria cohibitura erat : *cætera ibi vide. Quid ? quòd Adriaticum mare ad Africam usque extensum est, si Æthicum sequimur et Orosium ; apud quos Tripolitana provincia, ubi Arzuges et Leptis magna, habet à septentrione mare Adriaticum : et à meridie Creta finitur* mari Libyco, quod et Adriaticum vocant. *Nec aliter sensit Hi-*

eronymus in vitâ Hilarionis, ubi medium Adriam pertranseunt ab Ægypti Parætonia ad Siciliæ Pachynum appulsuri. Sed ad rem id maximè est, quòd in Procopii Vandalicis, lib. 1. *insulæ Gaulos et Melita* Αδριατικον και Τυρρηνικον πελαγος διοριζουσιν, Adriaticum et Tuscum pelagus disterminant. *Scitè igitur Sacer Scriptor et ex geographorum usu è Cretâ Melitam delatos vi ventorum ingruentium jactari dicit in Adriâ. Porrò in eâdem insulâ barbarorum nomine Pœnos ab illo designari docuimus, quorum reliquiæ in agris hæserant. Oppidi deniqua non meminit, quia nihil erat necesse. Ita Act.* 21. 1. *Paulus appulisse narratur in insulas Coum et Rhodum, absque mentione urbium, quas tamen utraque habuit insulæ cognomines.*

These are the arguments of *Bochart* in favour of *Malta*. In answer to which I will endeavour to shew, that it could not be the island, that this learned man supposes it to be, where St. *Paul* was cast away. And although, if this point be made out, it falls of course to the lot of the other island to be the place mentioned by St. *Luke;* yet I will not rest satisfied with this alternative; but, while I produce incontestable proof that *Malta* was not the place; I will bring as certain evidence that *Melite Illyrica* was.

It is to be observed, in the course of the foregoing arguments, that the whole depends upon this, whether *Malta* can be deemed an *Adriatic* island. As I have already in some measure anticipated this in-

quiry: I shall begin with it again, though it be rather the last in order. The other arguments I shall afterwards examine each in its turn.

First then I shall lay before the reader a short account of the *Adriatic* sea, as it was originally bounded, and as it was in process of time enlarged. In early ages it comprehended only the upper part of the *Sinus Ionius*, where was a city and a river, both called *Adria*; from one of which it took its name. It afterwards was advanced deeper in the gulf; but never so ingrossed it, as to obliterate its original name; for it is called *Sinus* and *Mare Adriaticum*, and *Sinus* and *Mare Ionium* by writers promiscuously for many ages. *Herodotus* calls the whole the *Ionian* gulf without limitation: [12] Εκ δε τε κολπε τε Ιονιε, Αμφιμνηστος Επιτροφε Επιδαμνιος· ὑτος δε εκ τε Ιονιε κολπε. *Thucydides* speaks of it in the same manner: [13] Επιδαμνος εστι πολις εν δεξια εσπλεοντι τον Ιονιον κολπον. It was esteemed the same in the days of [14] *Theophrastus*. But when the *Romans* came to navigate this *Sinus*, they were more acquainted with the *Adria*, and called it accordingly by that name; allotting to the *Ionian* only the lower part of the gulf. And even *Greek* writers, who lived under

[12] Lib. 6. cap. 127. Edit. Gronov.

[13] Lib. 1.

[14] Hist. Plant. lib. 8. cap. 10. Εν Απολλωνια γαν τη περι τον Ιονιον ουκ εσθιεσθαι φασιν ὁλως κυαμον.

Roman influence, copied them herein. Hence *Polybius* speaking of *Italy*, says, "to the east it is "bounded by the *Ionian* streight or passage, and "the gulf of *Adria*, that is contiguous and above it:" [15] την μεν μιαν ὁριζει πλευραν αυτης, την προς ανατολας κεκλιμενην, ὁ τ' Ιονιος πορος, και κατα το συνεχες ὁ κατα τον Αδριαν κολπος. He then proceeds to inform us, that the *Ionian* streight reached south to the promontory *Cocinthus* in *Bruttia*, where was the commencement of the *Sicilian* sea: το προκειμενον ακρωτηριον της Ιταλιας εις την μεσημβριαν, ὁ προσαγορευεται μεν Κοκινθος, διαιρει δε τον Ιονιον πορον και το Σικελικον πελαγος. As it extended northward, it comprehended the island *Saso*, that was situated in its entrance upwards: [16] νησον, ἡ καλειται μεν Σασων· κειται δε κατα την εισβολην την εις τον Ιονιον πορον. Thus we have three seas, the *Adriatic*, the *Ionian*, and *Sicilian*, very clearly specified. As yet we are a great way from *Malta*. Besides the *Ionian* gulf, which I should choose to distinguish by the title of the *Upper Ionian*, there was another sea of that name below, that occupied the whole space between *Sicily* and *Greece*, as well as between *Bruttia* and *Epirus*. This was the *Ionium Magnum*, or original *Ionian* sea. It began at *Tænarus*, and reached to the *Ceraunian* mountains. This must be carefully distinguished from that above. It

[15] Lib. 2. pag. 102. Edit. Casaub. Par. 1609.

[16] Lib. 5. pag. 446. Edit. Casaub. Par. 1609.

was called by some the *Sicilian* sea, by others the *Cretan:* but properly comprehended both. [17]

I come now to writers nearer to the time we are speaking of. *Diodorus Siculus* mentions the *Sinus Ionius* under the name Ιονιος πορος; and acquaints us that *Dionysius*, tyrant of *Sicily*, "built cities in "*Adria* that he might secure this [18] passage, and "have an open and uninterrupted navigation to "*Epirus:*" [19] Εγνω κατα τον Αδριαν πολεις οικιζειν· τυτο δε επραττε, διανοεμενος τον Ιονιον καλεμενον πορον ιδιοποιεισθαι, ινα τον επι την Ηπειρον πλεν ασφαλη κατασκευαση. The *Ionian* gulf, we find, is termed by these two historians Ιονιος πορος or *Ionian* passage; because, in their time, the *Roman* armies as well as private persons passed over it from *Brundusium* to [20] *Epidamnus* and the opposite continent. *Dionysius* the geographer likewise calls it the Ιονιος πορος: he places in it the islands of *Absyrtus;*

[21] Εξεινης δε, ποροιο προς αυγας Ιονιοιο,
Αψυρτε νησων αναφαινεται ασπετος ὁλκος.

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[17] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 4. cap. 2. Edit. Harduin.

[18] This was done to curb the *Illyrian* pirates.

[19] Lib. 15. pag. 464. Edit. Stephan.

[20] At *Epidamnus* began the *Via Ignatia*, or grand road to *Macedonia* and *Thrace*. See Strabo. vol. 1. pag. 496. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

[21] Περιηγ. Vers. 487.

Pliny will hereafter be found to agree exactly with these writers.

In the time of the second *Triumvirate* this sea still preserved its limits. This is evident from the partition of the empire between *Octavius* and *Antonius*, as it is mentioned in [22] *Appian*. This historian is in time posterior to the fact: yet in an affair of this consequence we may suppose him to be particularly accurate, calling every thing by its true name, and defining it by its just boundaries. *Appian*'s words are these: Ὁ δε Καισαρ και ὁ Αντωνιος την Ρωμαιων αυθις αρχην εφ' ἑαυτων εμερισαντο ἁπασαν· ὁρον μεν ειναι σφισι Σκοδραν πολιν της Ιλλυριδος, εν μεσῳ τῳ Ιονιῳ μυχῳ μαλιστα δοκουσαν ειναι. "*Cæsar* and *Anto-*" *nius* once more divided the whole *Roman* em-" pire between them; making *Scodra*, a city of " *Illyria*, the common boundary between them; " which was supposed to be situated as near as " possible towards the middle of the *Ionian* " gulf."[23]

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[22] Lib. 5. Εμφυλ.

[23] The truth is, *Appian* calls the whole *Sinus* the *Ionian* gulf: and not only *Appian*, but *Dio* in Lib. 41, and *Herodian* do the same. So far from extending the *Adriatic* to *Sicily* or *Malta*, they do not seem to allow that such a sea existed. *Herodian* particularly, in the march of *Maximinus* to *Italy*, describing the *Alps*, says they extended to the *Tuscan* sea on one side, and to the *Ionian* gulf on the other: καθηκειν; ες μεν τοις δεξιοις Ιταλιας μερεσιν, ες το Τυρρηναιον πελαγος· εν δε τοις λαιοις ες τον Ιωνιον κολπον.

We have made as yet but small advances towards *Malta* and the *African* shore: and there is reason to think we shall never reach it. For there are too many seas, too many promontories that interfere;

επειη μαλα πολλα μεταξυ
Ουρεα τε σκιοεντα, θαλασσα τε ηχηεσσα.

Ante et Trinacriâ lentandus remus in undâ.

The next person whose evidence I shall appeal to is *Strabo*, who was contemporary with St. *Paul*. In describing these seas, he begins from the south; and enumerates them in the order they lie from the *Syrtes* to the gulf of *Adria*. [24] Το μεν ουν προ των Συρτεων και της Κυρηναιας καλειται ΛΙΒΥΚΟΝ κ. τ. λ. Το δε ΣΙΚΕΛΙΚΟΝ πελαγος προ της Σικελιας εστι, και της Ιταλιας επι το προς εω μερος· και ετι τα μεταξυ πορα της τε Ρηγινης μεχρι Λοκρων, και της Μεσσηνιας μεχρι Συρακουσων και Παχυνα. "The sea that is before the *Syrtes* "and *Cyrene* is called the *Libyan*, &c. The "[25] *Sicilian* sea lies due east from *Sicily* and the "bottom of *Italy*: extending upwards from the

lib. 8. cap. 2. *Cicero* likewise calls the whole the *Ionian* gulf. *Ut philosophi tanquam in superum mare Ionium defluerent, Græcum quoddam et portuosum; oratores autem in inferum hoc Tuscum et barbarum, scopulosum atque infestum, laberentur.* de Orat. 3. 19.

[24] Vol. 1. pag. 185. edit. Amstel. 1707.

[25] *Strabo* calls the *Ionium Magnum* the *Sicilian* sea.

" streights of *Rhegium*, as far as the *Locrians* " on one hand; and the *Messenians* on the other, " and from them down to *Syracuse* and *Pachynus*." Αυξεται δ' επι μεν το προς ἑω μερος μεχι των ακρων της Κρητης· και την Πελοποννησον δε περικλυζει την πλειστην, και πληροι τον Κορινθιακον καλεμενον κολπον· προς αρκτες δ' επι τε ακραν Ιαπυγιαν και το [26]στομα τε Ιονιε κολπε κ. τ. λ. Ὁ δ' Ιονιος κολπος μερος εστι τε νυν Αδριε λεγομενε, τετε δε την μεν εν δεξιᾳ πλευραν ἡ Ἰλλυρις ποιει· την δ' ευωνυμον ἡ Ιταλια, μεχρι τε μυχε τε κατα την Ακυληϊαν. " It " reaches eastward as far as the headlands of *Crete*, " washing great part of the *Peloponnesus*, and fill- " ing the *Sinus Corinthiacus*. To the north it ex- " tends as far as the *Iapygian* promontory and the " beginning of the *Ionian* gulf, &c. But the *Ionian* " gulf is now esteemed part of the *Adriatic* sea: " which sea is formed or bounded by the *Illyrian* " coast on the right hand; by the coast of *Italy* on " the left, as high up as *Aquileia*." In another place he defines the *Adriatic* sea most precisely. [27]Μετα δε Απολλωνιαν Βυλλικη και Ωρικον, και το επινειον αυτε ὁ Πανορμος, και τα Κεραυνια ορη, ἡ αρχη τε στοματος τε Ιονιε κολπε και τε Αδριε. Το μεν δη στομα κοινον αμφοιν εστι, διαφερει δε ὁ Ιονιος, διοτι τε πρωτε μερες της Θαλαττης ταυτης ονομα τετ' εστιν· ὁ δ' Αδριας της εντος μεχρι τε μυχε,

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[26] Χαονες, ἡ αρχη τε Ιονιε κολπε και νησος Σασων. Strabonis Epitome.

[27] Vol. 1. pag. 487. edit. Amstel. 1707.

νυνι δε και της συμπασης. " After *Apollonia* is *Bullice* " and *Oricum*, and *Panormus* the magazine for " shipping; then the *Ceraunian* mountains, where " the mouth or streight of the *Ionian* gulf and " *Adriatic* sea commences. These two seas have " one common inlet: but the *Ionian* differs from " the *Adriatic:* because that is the name of the " first part of the *Sinus;* the *Adria* is the name of " the interior part, quite up to the farthest recess: " but now it is the name of the whole."[28]

I come next to *Pomponius Mela*, who was likewise of the same age. In recounting some of the cities towards the lower part of *Italy*, he mentions *Lupiæ*, *Hydrus* or *Hydruntum*, the desert coast of *Salentum*, and *Callipolis;* after which he concludes, " here is the boundary of the *Adriatic:*"[29] *Lupiæ, Hydrus mons, tum et Salentini campi, et Salentina littora, et urbs Græcia Callipolis: hùc usque Adria.* And,[30] *Hellas—mari utroque, et Ionio magis, latera ejus intrante, donec quatuor millia passuum pateat*, &c. In enumerating some of the provinces of *Greece*, he proceeds in this manner; *Argolis, Laconice, Messenia, Elis, Achaia, Arcadia:* then, beyond the *Sinus Corinthiacus*, " *Æto-*

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[28] *Strabo* takes no notice of the *Cretan* sea; but calls the whole interval between *Sicily* and *Crete* the *Sicilian* sea: he likewise does not mention the lower or great *Ionian*.

[29] Lib. 2. cap. 4.

[30] Lib. 2. cap. 3.

" *lia, Acarnania, Epirus,* as high up as the *Adri-*
" *atic;*" *ultra Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, usque in Adriam*—The *Adriatic* was therefore above *Epirus.* To the same purpose he speaks in another place: *Deinde Ceraunii montes; ab iis flexus in Adriam:* and concludes, that " in *Adria* the first " city was *Oricum,* the next *Dyrrhacium;*" *urbium prima est Oricum, secunda Dyrrhacium, Epidamnus ante erat.*

This is the evidence of *Mela,* a *Roman* and a contemporary; who must have known the boundaries of his own country more accurately than a foreigner; and the opinions of his own times better than writers three or four centuries after.

Pliny's evidence must have the same weight for the like reason: indeed, his authority is superior. He differs from *Mela* in some degree; dividing the *Sinus* into two seas, as *Strabo* and *Diodorus* had done before him; allotting the lower part to the *Ionian,* the upper to the *Adria.* [31] *In eo* [*sinu*] *duo maria, (quo distinximus fine) Ionium in primâ parte, interius Adriaticum.* He moreover marks out more particularly the upper *Ionian* sea, by informing us, it comprehended the island *Saso* or *Sasonis;* as well as the island of *Diomede* on the other side, where it washed the coast of *Calabria*

[31] Nat. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 26. Edit. Harduin.

and *Apulia.* [32] *In Ionio mari ab Orico M. millia passuum Sasonis piraticâ statione nota.* And again, [33] *In Ionio—contra Apulum littus Dio-*

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[32] Nat. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 26. Edit. Harduin.

[33] *Pliny* speaks of the island of *Diomede* as being in the *Ionian* sea; and mentions, this particular circumstance, that the first plane-trees that were introduced into *Europe* were brought to that island, and planted on the hero's tomb. These trees are certainly very beautiful; and if any species may claim the pre-eminence for their noble appearance, I should think we may give it to the plane. Yet *Pliny* seems to wonder at people for putting themselves to any cost to purchase merely shade. *Sed quis non jure miretur arborem, umbræ gratiâ tantùm, ex alieno petitam orbe? Platanus hæc est, mare Ionium in Diomedis insulam, ejusdem tumuli gratiâ, primùm invecta: inde in Siciliam transgressa, atque inter primas donata Italiæ; et jam ad Morinos usque pervecta, ac tributarium etiam detinens solum, ut gentes vectigal et pro umbra pendant.* Nat. Hist. lib. 12. If *Pliny* is in earnest, it gives me but a mean opinion of his taste; though I must honour him as a naturalist. It is mentioned of *Xerxes*, that, in marching through *Lydia*, he saw one of these trees, of so stately a growth and of so beautiful an appearance, that he was struck with admiration: and, before he quitted the spot, he decked it with ornaments of gold, and appointed a person of consequence, one of those called the immortals, particularly to tend and look after it; μιλιδώνῳ Ἀθανατῳ ἀνδρι ἐπιτρεψας. Herod. 7. 31. The *Romans* esteemed them highly, and instead of water used to refresh them with a profusion of wine. Of their attention in this respect we have a curious instance in *Macrobius*. He tells us that the two great orators *Hortensius* and *Cicero* were upon a time engaged in the same cause, where *Hortensius* was to take the lead. But when the hour came, he begged of *Cicero* to change turns with him,

medea. And, speaking of *Hydruntum* at the bottom of the gulf, he says it was "the boundary of "the forementioned seas:" [34] *Hydruntum ad discrimen Ionii et Adriatici maris.*—Not *discrimen inter se,* to distinguish the one from the other, as *Harduin* fondly fancies. No limit nor mark can distinguish two places both on the same side: but it was the boundary that separated them from the seas below; from the *Tarentine* and *Epirotic,* the *Sicilian* and *Cretan* seas; which last constituted the great *Ionian.* But *Pliny* seldom takes notice of it by that name; though he allows that the *Greeks*

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and plead first: for, says he, I must just step to *Tusculum,* and give my plane-tree a little wine, and I will return immediately. *Saturnal.* lib. 3. cap. 13. Nothing can give us a stronger idea of the taste the *Romans* had for plantations than to see a zealous orator wave his priority, and for a time desert his cause, in order to tend a plane-tree. There are said to be at *Jedo,* the capital of *Japan,* a species of these trees in the emperor's gardens, whose leaves are beautifully variegated with red and yellow and green, which afford a most pleasing appearance, *Kæmpfer.* pag. 524. The reader will excuse me this digression, as it will afford him some relief in the course of the above dry inquiry.

I have mentioned that these trees were first imported, according to *Pliny,* into the island of *Diomede;* which island lies pretty far in the great *Illyrian* gulf; and, being said to be situated in the *Ionian* sea, shews us what *Pliny* means by that sea, and how far, according to his opinion, it extended upwards in that gulf: consequently what he thought were the bounds of the *Adriatic,* which took up but half the *Sinus.*

[34] Nat. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 11. Edit. Harduin.

called it so: *Græci Ionium dividunt in Siculum ac Creticum ab insulis. Harduin* was misled by *Pliny*'s calling it the *Ionian* sea, and not the *Ionian* gulf. But we must observe that it was seldom called *Sinus Ionius* or Ιονιος κολπος, but by writers who suppose it to comprehend the whole gulf, such as *Thucydides, Theophrastus, Appian, Herodian, Dio.* When it is divided into two seas, according to *Polybius, Diodorus, Pliny*; it is then denominated Ιονιος πορος and *Ionium mare.* Yet, under whatever name it comes, it must never be confounded with the great *Ionian.* That began at *Tænarus* and the *Strophades,* [*Insulæ Ionio in magno*] and comprehended, as I before mentioned, the *Cretan* and *Sicilian* seas; which *Pliny* takes proper notice of: *Græci Ionium dividunt in Siculum ac Creticum ab insulis. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 11. In respect to the upper *Ionian, Strabo* intimates that it was properly called Ιονιος κολπος, as originally possessing the whole *Sinus*; but that in his time it was esteemed but as a part of the *Adriatic:* nay, the *Adriatic* had in a manner engrossed the whole. As to the notion of *Bochart,* that the *Sinus* and *Mare Adriaticum* were distinguished from each other, the one being within the *Sinus,* and the other far without; it is a groundless supposition: nor is there the least shadow of authority for such an opinion in any author from *Herodotus* to *Pliny.*

From all the writers above we gain this uniform evidence; that the *Adriatic* sea was comprehended

within the great *Illyrian* gulf, and never reached farther. *Strabo* in particular, who gives it as great an extent as any body, determines it, as I have before shewn, by two fixed boundaries that cannot be mistaken: [35] την μεν εν δεξια πλευραν ἡ Ιλλυρις ποιει, την δ' ευωνυμον ἡ Ιταλια: it was included between *Italy* and the opposite continent. Where then was St. *Paul* shipwrecked? certainly between *Italy* and *Illyria*, that is, the opposite continent. Is [36] *Malta*

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[35] Vol. 1. pag. 185. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

[36] If *Malta* could ever be deemed situated in the *Adriatic*, some writer or other must have taken notice of it as such. But it is always referred to *Africa*, and mentioned as an *African* island.

Insulæ sunt in Africam versæ, Gaulos, Melita, à Cumarinâ LXXXIV. *M. pass. à Lilybæo* CXIII. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 8. Edit. Harduin.

Mela speaks to the same purpose: *Africam versùs Gaulos, Melite, Cosura.* lib. 2. cap. 7.

Scylax says, *Melite* was a small island near *Hermæum Promontorium* to the east, reckoned among the appendages to *Carthage*.

Ptolemy—Πελαγιαι δε νησοι εισι της Αφρικης αιδε· Κοσσυρα νησος εχει πολιν, Γαυλαυκανος [by mistake for Γαυλωνιος] νησος ηαι πολις, Μελιτη νησος, εν ᾗ Μελιτη πολις. Geogr. lib. 4. p. 100. *Bertii.* 1618.

Cellarius—*in Africo mari Melite.* lib. 2. cap. 12.

Bochart himself ranks *Malta* among the *African* islands: *E pelagiis Africæ insulis tres recensentur ad orientem Hermæi promontorii, Melita, Gaulos, Lampas.* He mentions the authority of *Ovid*, whose evidence amounts only to this; that, in his passage to *Pontus*, he wrote verses on both sides of the *Grecian* continent, that is, both in the *Adriatic* sea and the *Ægæan*. But how does

to be found in this situation? It is far off, in a sea that has no affinity, no connexion with these coasts. But the other *Melite*, taken notice of by *Scylax*, *Agathemerus*, *Pliny*, &c. is situated in the *Adria*, agreeable to the Apostle's account: therefore *Melite Illyrica* is certainly the island there mentioned.

This is a true account of the *Adriatic* sea in its full extent; as I have taken it from the best authors that were either before the Apostle, or contemporaries with him. Whatever alterations may have been introduced in respect to its limits a century or two afterwards, cannot affect the present subject. The extravagancies of later ages are still less to be heeded: yet these are the authorities *Bochart* has recourse to; quoting no one writer of the Apostle's age, or before him, excepting the poets.

But there is another circumstance that writers upon this subject either totally omit, or pass over very slightly; which, however, is well worth our consideration, as it is a great confirmation of what I have been hitherto advancing. It is observable that, in speaking of the natives, the sacred writer

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this relate to *Malta*, or make it an *Adriatic* island? *Ovid*'s testimony, when he speaks to the purpose, makes for the contrary side the question:

Fertilis est Melite sterili vicina Cosyræ;
Insula, quam LIBYCI *verberat unda maris.* Fast. 3. 567.

never calls them Μελιταιοι or Νησιωται, but Βαρβαροι. The antient *Greeks* called all nations, that were not of *Grecian* original, indiscriminately *Barbarians*. This continued for a long time: but, after they had been conquered by the *Romans*, and as it were beat into good manners, they by degrees laid aside that saucy distinction, and were more complaisant to their neighbours. Hence we find that *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, and others who wrote after the decline of the *Grecian* power, seldom make use of this expression; unless the people they treat of are notorious for their ferity and rudeness. But, supposing a *Grecian* writer might continue this partial distinction, and look upon every country, but his own, as barbarous; yet St. *Paul* cannot be imagined to have acted so: he was no *Greek*; but a *Jew* of *Tarsus*, and in the same predicament as those that are spoken of. Whenever the Apostle calls a people barbarous, you may be very sure it was the real character of the nation. As these therefore are the only people in all the travels of St. *Paul* that are characterized in this manner; let us see to which of the two islands the title can with most propriety be applied.

We are informed by *Diodorus Siculus* and others that *Melite Africana* was first a colony of *Phœnicians*: and was afterwards inhabited successively by *Carthaginians*, *Greeks* and *Romans*. Who will be so hardy as to denominate any of these nations barbarous? They were each of them renowned for

arts, of great power and wealth, and of particular elegance and refinement. As the ancestry was good, the posterity did not fall off. The testimony of *Diodorus Siculus* will sufficiently vindicate them from barbarousness: [37] Τους δε κατοικουντας ταις υσιαις ευδαιμονας· τεχνιτας τε γαρ εχει παντοδαπους ταις εργασιαις· κρατιστους δε των οθονια ποιουντας τη τε λεπτοτητι και τη μαλακοτητι διαπρεπη· τας τε οικιας αξιολογους και κατεσκευασμενας φιλοτιμως γειστοις και κονιαμασι περιττοτερον. Εστι δε ἡ Νησος αὑτη Φοινικων αποικος. "The inhabitants "of *Malta* are very happy in their circumstances; "for they have all sorts of artificers for every kind "of work: but they excel most in their manufac- "ture of linen, which is beyond any thing of the "kind, both in the firmness of its texture and its "softness. Their houses are very noble, being "elegantly ornamented with pediments projecting "forwards, and with the most exquisite stucco "work. This island was peopled by a colony of "*Phœnicians*." He then proceeds to tell us that the *Phœnicians*, observing the goodness of its harbours and its particularly commodious situation, made use of it in their long voyages for a place of refuge and refreshment; which was the foundation of their affluence: δι' ἡν αιτιαν οι κατοικουντες αυτην, ευχρηστουμενοι κατα πολλα δια τους εμπορους, ταχυ τοις τε βιοις ανεδραμον, και ταις δοξαις ηυξηθησαν: "By which

[37] Hist. Bibl. lib. 5. pag. 204. Edit. Stephan.

" means the inhabitants, receiving vast emoluments " from the merchants that put in there, soon made " a figure in their way of living, and increased in " reputation and splendor." Where is here the least shadow of a barbarous disposition? So much the contrary, one would imagine the author was describing *Corinth* or *Athens* in their glory: here is all their art and elegance, with a superior vein of industry. By good fortune, time has spared us some samples, to form a judgment of this people. [38]The temples of *Juno* and *Hercules* appear by the remains to have been very magnificent, and of great extent: and the [39]coins that were originally struck there are said to be of no ordinary cast. Of this island was that *Diodorus*, whose character *Cicero* sketches out after his masterly manner. He calls him, [40] *Homo et domi nobilis, et apud eos, quò se contulit, propter virtutem splendidus et gratiosus:* " He was a man of rank in his own country; and " made a great figure, and was highly acceptable " among those that he went over to, upon account " of his eminent good qualities." It is very diffi-

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[38] *Quintinus* in 1532 says the ruins were three miles in circumference. See also *Fazellus de Reb. Siculis*, and *Jacomo Bozio*, lib. quinto, parte terza: p. 90.

[39] See Tab. II, at pag. 25. *Fazellus* calls them *Numismata æneca affabrè facta*, See *Paruta Sicilia Numismatica*. Tab. 13. Lug. Bat. 1723.

[40] Orat. 4. in Verr. sect. 18.

Tab. I. *Canis Melitæus Balnearis*

Ex Museo Bonar

In Achate.

Tab. II.

cult to give the full force of every word in *Cicero*. It is, however, very plain he has crowded together many happy circumstances, either expressed or implied, to embellish this *Melitensian*; rank, honour, virtue, splendor, urbanity; qualities that won him the heart of every body he conversed with. Such was *Diodorus* of *Melite*—*ab uno disce omnes*.

But it is said that some of the lower sort might still be rude and savage, though the people of rank were otherwise. But St. *Paul* experienced nothing but civility from the lower sort; nay, ε την τυχουσαν φιλανθρωπιαν, uncommon civility, as he himself witnesses. Therefore, if the common people are civil and humane, and their superiors polite and ingenious; [41] a general imputation of barbarism can

[41] A large and spacious region, however cultivated and civilized, may sometimes be skirted with rude and barbarous people. But even then, a traveller does not make use of the word *barbarian* indiscriminately; though he should, in journeying, meet with some of that cast. He would, surely, speak with limitation, and pay a little deference to the better part of the nation. But the island we are speaking of was so small, and the natives so civilized and industrious, that it is impossible any thing barbarous should have subsisted within their precincts. Whom, indeed, can we imagine these barbarous people to have been? "The remains of the *Pœni*," says *Bochart*, "who still existed there, and lived in *agris*," in the country part of the island. But why are we to suppose, in the most elegant little spot in the world, that there was a rude set of people, who led a

never square with that nation. In short, take them separately or collectively, this stain is incompatible with the natives of *Malta*.

Let us now change the scene, and take a view of *Melite Illyrica;* and see if this appellation be more applicable there. This island is situated in the *Adriatic* gulf, near the river *Naro*, in the province of the *Nestiæans*, an *Illyrian* people. What is the character of these *Illyrians?* barbarous beyond measure; so that they are seldom mentioned without this denomination. *Thucydides*, speaking of *Epidamnus*, says it was "in the neighbourhood of "the *Taulantii*, a barbarous set of people, a sept "of *Illyrians:*"[42] Επιδαμνος εστι πολις—προσοικεσι δ' αυτην Ταυλαντιοι βαρβαροι, Ιλλυρικον εθνος. *Polybius* mentions την των Ιλλυριων παρανομιαν; and says that, in his time, "they did not seem so much to have "feuds and quarrels with any particular nation, "as to be at war with all the world:"[43] ε γαρ τισιν, αλλα πασι τοτε κοινας εχθρας ειναι συνεβαινε τας Ιλλυριας. *Diodorus* seldom mentions them, but he terms them *Barbarians*. Speaking of the *Lacedæmonians* giv-

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brutal life by themselves, sequestered in the fields? What fields has *Malta?* and why must we take for granted these people were the *Puni*, the offspring of *Tyre* and *Carthage?*

[42] Hist. lib. 1.

[43] Hist. lib. 2. pag. 100. Edit. Casaub. Item excerptæ Legationes: sect. CXXV.

ing them a remarkable check, he says, [44] τα πολλα θρασος επαυσαν τους βαρβαρους. One *Illyrian* nation was called the *Dardanians;* of whom *Nicolaus Damascenus* [45] mentions an odd rule, which, I believe, no other body politic ever imposed upon itself: τρις εν τω βιω λουονται μονον, οταν γενωνται, και επι γαμοις, και τελευτωντες. *Strabo* speaks of the country as naturally good, but neglected and barren [46] δια την αγριοτητα των ανθρωπων και το ληστρικον εθνος, "on "account of the savage disposition of the inhabi- "tants, and the national turn to plunder." They are represented as rude in their habits; their bodies disfigured with marks and scarifications by way of [47] ornament; not given to traffic, and ignorant of the use of [48] money. They are described as extending to the *Danube* north, and eastward to *Macedonia* and *Thrace;* comprehending a villainous brotherhood under different denominations—[49] *Illyrii, Liburnique et Istri, gentes feræ.* Such were the *Scordisci*, a nation bent on ruin; who are said to have made a beautiful country for seven days jour-

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[44] Lib. 14. pag. 464. Edit. Stephan.

[45] Συναγωγη παραδοξων ηθων.

[46] Vol. 1. pag. 489. Edit. Amstel. 1707. *Herodotus* of the *Thracians*. lib. 5. cap. 6. Edit. Gronov. Το ζην απο πολεμου και λειτους καλλιστον.

[47] Strabo. vol. 1. pag. 484. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

[48] Schol. in Dionys. Περιηγ. ad vers. 97.

[49] Liv. lib. 10. cap. 2.

ney a desert. Add to these the *Bessi*, so supreme in villainy, that the banditti looked up to them, and "called them, by way of eminence, the thieves:" [50] ὑπο των λῃσων λῃσαι προσαγορευονται. In short, it is notorious that all the tract of *Illyria*, from the city *Lissus* north-west, was termed Ιλλυρις Βαρβαρικη; partly on account of the ferity of the inhabitants, and partly to distinguish it from the *Hellenic*, where the *Greeks* had made their settlements. It is observable that the islands upon this coast were noted for a desperate race of free-booters: and, what is most to the purpose, *Melite* and *Corcyra* particularly swarmed with pirates. They so far aggrieved the *Romans* by their repeated outrages, that [51] *Augustus* ordered the islands to be sacked, and the inhabitants put to the sword. This in great measure was executed. So that, when the Apostle arrived in these parts, the island must have been very much thinned, and the remainder of the people well disciplined.

Having drawn this unamiable picture of fierceness and brutality, I submit to the reader to determine, which of the two people here spoken of deserve most the title of *Barbarians*. *Melite Africana* had never, that I can find, the least pretence to the character: such an imputation can never be fixed

[50] Strabo. vol. 1. pag. 490. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

[51] Appian. de Bello Illyrico.

upon it, without great injustice and impropriety. But this character must belong to one of the islands: it falls then of course to the lot of *Melite Illyrica;* which, upon inquiry, has every collateral circumstance to confirm the justice of the appellation. St. *Paul*, indeed, experienced much good will and civility from the inhabitants, and makes a due acknowledgement of their kindness; yet calls them *Barbarians* in the same acceptation that we call the natives of *North America* savages. Among these there have not been wanting instances of humanity: but, as they are for the most part rude and uncivilized, they are comprehended under this general denomination.

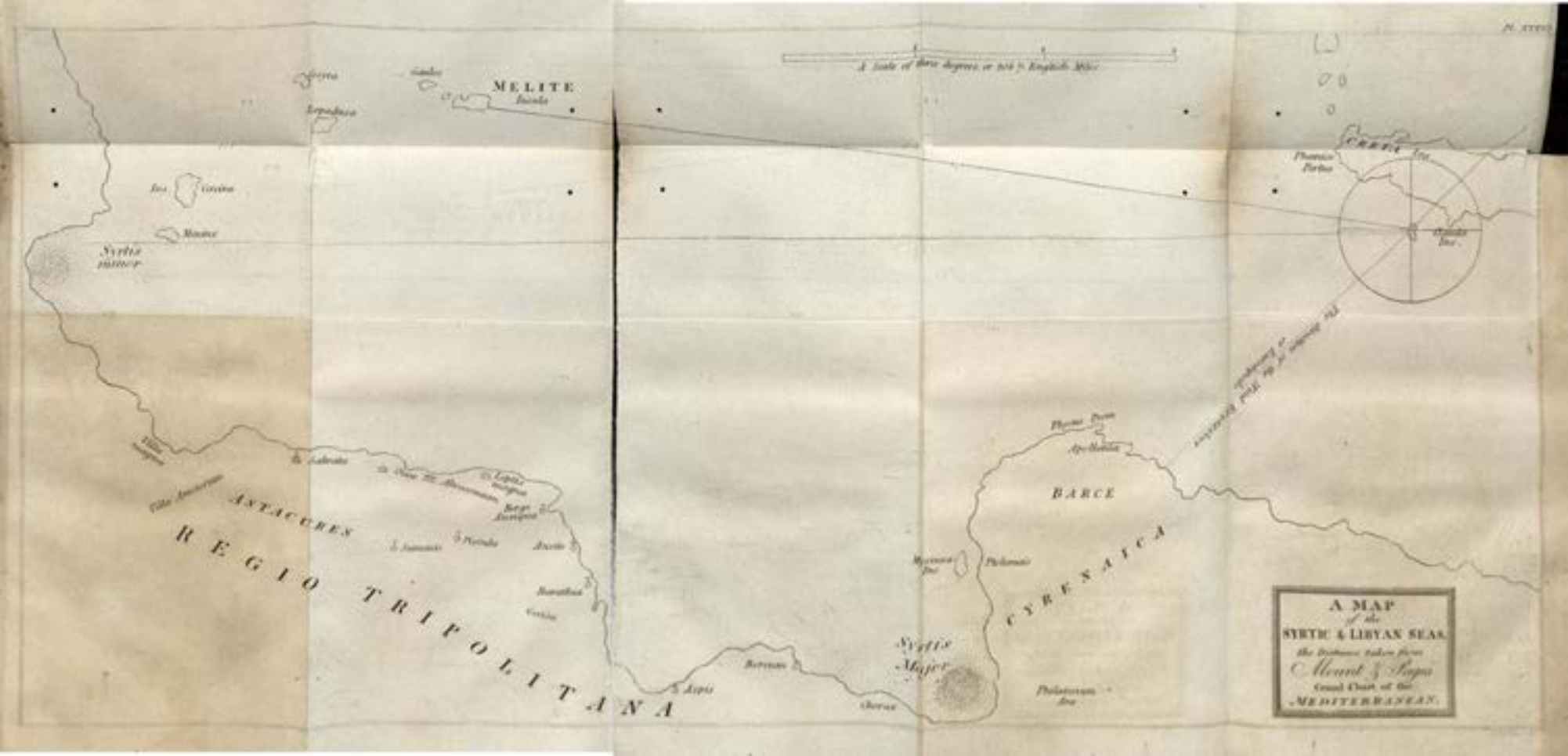
Modern travellers[52] report of *Malta*, that it harbours no serpents; a blessing, we are told, bequeathed to the island by St. *Paul* at his departure. *Cluver* seems to build much upon this; though he mentions the same circumstance of other places, such as *Galata* and *Ebusus*, where the Apostle never was. It is very certain that many islands, of small extent and removed far from the continent, are free from venomous creatures. If this be true of *Malta*, what they bring as a test of the Apostle's having been upon the island, is a proof to me that he never was there. As there are no serpents now; my conclusion is, that there never were any: con-

[52] *Thevenot*'s Travels into the *Levant*. Part. 1. cap. 5.

sequently, it could not be the place where St. *Paul* exhibited the miracle. Thus we find that opposite and contradictory inferences are made from the same principles.

But it is said, they were afraid of falling upon the *Syrtis;* φοβερμενοι μη εις την Συρτιν εκπεσωσι κ. τ. λ. *Bochart* infers from this, [91] that they could not be driven towards *Illyria;* because the wind that must carry them that way would rid them of all fears of the *Syrtis.* I make no doubt but it did; and that too very soon: for, though they were beating the seas many days, we hear no more of their apprehensions. This argument, however, seems to carry some weight with it, and therefore deserves to be examined. Dr. *Bentley* has before said, that *Euroaquilo* was "the very wind that would directly "drive the ship from *Crete* to the *African Syrtis*, "according to the pilot's fears in the 17th verse." *Bochart* is of the same opinion: yet neither of them expressly tells us which of the *Syrtes* is meant. Are we to suppose the greater *Syrtis*, or the less? or, with *Beza*, to understand by the word Συρτις any sand or shelf whatever? If we suppose the greater *Syrtis* to be here spoken of; that is at a considerable distance from *Clauda:* yet lies, however, nearly in the direction of the supposed *Euroaquilo* or north-east wind. But what has this to

91 "Quam lectionem si sequaris, res est confecta."


A Scale of three degrees or 208 ½ English Miles
MELITE
Insula
Lampedusa
Syrtis minor
REGIO TRIPOLITANA
ANTACRES
Syrtis Major
BARCE
CYRENAICA
Philenorum Ara
A MAP
of the
SYRTIC & LIBYAN SEAS.
the Distances taken from
Mount Sagra
Grand Court of the
MEDITERRANEAN.

do with *Malta?* That island is situated in respect of *Clauda* to the north of the west; making an angle with the other of little less than a sextant of a circle. The course of the Apostle to *Malta* cannot be inferred from a wind that blew 50 degrees another way. Nor must we suppose the *Syrtes* to be blended together, and that any part of the coast may be understood here. The *Syrtes* were separated from each other; having between them the *Regio Tripolitana*, a large tract of inhabited country three hundred miles in length. This intervened, and sufficiently [54] distinguished them. I take for granted that they mean the lesser *Syrtis*, because it is more in a line with *Malta;* but, on the other hand, it is at a much greater distance. Let us therefore suppose which we please; what are we to make of the word φοβούμενοι? or how are we to reconcile their fears with their situation? They were under the island *Clauda;* that is, three hundred miles from the greater *Syrtis*, above two hundred leagues from the less. Surely, the alarm was full early, and the danger very remote. What *Dutch* or *English* vessel is in fear of the *Goodwin* and *Galloper*, before it is got into soundings? It is not a thing to be imagined. These writers therefore

[54] It seems to have been a country well peopled. *Ptolemy* mentions no less than eighteen cities in this interval between the *Syrtes*. It was famous on account of the emperor *Severus: Hic, provinciâ Tripolitanâ, oppido Lepti, solus ex Africâ usque in præsentem diem Romanus imperator fuit.* Euseb. Chron. Hieron. Interp. See also Eutropius.

make a very wrong deduction from this circumstance: the word φοβεμενοι means only a remote apprehension from the uncertainty they were in; not any immediate fear. Besides, had they been driven by the wind in the direction supposed, their fears would have increased in proportion as they approached the danger; which they were continually doing, if they advanced towards *Malta*. But, as I said before, we hear no more of these fears, though they are supposed to have been beating about those seas fourteen days.

But it may be further proved from the text, that their course lay not towards *Malta* and the *Syrtis*, but quite a different way. This is manifest from the verb εκπεσωσι, which is very emphatical: φοβεμενοι μη εις την Συρτιν εκπεσωσιν. It is plain, that, when it is said of a ship, that it would εκπεσειν εις πετραν or εις Συρτιν, the meaning is, that it would be driven out of its course, and so run upon the danger: otherwise it would be said εμπεσειν or εμπιπτειν, as we may learn from *Strabo* in speaking of these very sands. [55] Η χαλεποτης δε και ταυτης της Συρτεως και της μικρας—συμβαινει τισιν εμπιπτειν εις τα βραχη και καθιζειν.—διοπερ προῤῥωθεν του παραπλεν ποιενται, φυλαττομενοι μη εμπεσοιεν εις τας κολπας. "The difficulty "both of this and of the lesser *Syrtis* consists in "this—it happens that many ships run directly "upon the shallows and are there stranded:—for

[55] Vol. 2. p. 1192. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

" which reason mariners generally sail along at a " great distance, taking care not to fall into the " gulf and be imbayed." But εκπεσειν signifies to fall upon any thing contrary to your expectation and will, by erring and wandering from your original scope and destination. In this very chapter we have three instances of the word in this sense: verse 32, Τοτε οι στρατιωται απεκοψαν τα σχοινια της σκαφης, και ειασαν αυτην εκπεσειν: verse 26, Εις νησον δε τινα δει ημας εκπεσειν· verse 29, Φοβουμενοι τε μηπως εις τραχεις τοπους εκπεσωμεν.[56] The ship's original direction then was manifestly in a different line from that which they were afraid of being carried in: for it could not run upon the *Syrtis*, without going out of its course: it was therefore never bound towards *Malta;* for that is nearly in a direction with the lesser *Syrtis*. The whole then of their apprehensions seems to have been this: They were in a violent storm, and had not either the sun by day, or the stars by night, to direct them: they could not therefore tell what wind they were borne by: it might[57] vary every hour, and they not be sensible

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[56] The learned *Hutchinson* interprets this passage as I have done. See Xenoph. Αναβ. Edit. Hutch. 8vo. p. 452. Εκπιπτοντας. *Eodem sensu adhibetur* εκπιπτειν. Act. XXVII. 17, 26; *nempe de navigantibus, qui, cursu proposito excussi, vel in brevia incidunt, vel in littus ejiciuntur.* See also p. 541.

[57] The wind *Euroclydon* was certainly a hurricane. These winds veer round, and blow from every point of the compass; but at last settle to one particular station, from whence they often rage with no less violence, but more steadiness, for a long time.

of it; as they had nothing to determine the point it blew from. In this gloom and uncertainty, not knowing which way they were carried, they were afraid they should be driven out of their course, and run upon one of the *Syrtes*. These sands were of great extent, and the terror of the neighbouring seas: but it does not appear that they were at all driven that way, or ever near the quicksands.[58] There is nothing in St. *Luke*'s narration to induce us to make such a supposition; there is every thing to prove the reverse. Their course was originally for *Rhegium*; which they overshot, and were forced to take shelter in the *Adria*.

Another argument that *Bochart* brings to establish his opinion is taken from the words τοπον διθαλασσον; which, he says, is an *isthmus* or neck of land, such as that at *Corinth*, which has the sea on each side: and he remarks that there is just such a one at *Malta*, called *la Cala di S. Paolo*. But, with submission to this learned writer, I differ from him intirely. For what does it at all signify to a ship that is to be run on ground, whether on the other side of the beach there be sea or land, wood or water? In respect to the grounding of the ship, it is matter of no consideration that the strand they drive upon has salt water on the other side. It is a

[58] In our best charts of the *Mediterranean* there is laid down a shelf or sand not far from the island *Clauda*: this may possibly be the *Syrtis* they were in fear of. It lies to the south, a small matter out of their course; which must have been to the north of it.

circumstance they could scarce be acquainted with: and, after all, is saying nothing. For, make a section of an island any where diametrically; and it will be διθαλασσος, being by its nature surrounded with water. What this learned man terms an *isthmus*, seems to me to be a point or small cape. Every bay has something of this sort; for it is the very thing that constitutes it.

[59] *Portus ab Eöo fluctu curvatur in arcum:*
Objectæ salsâ spumant aspergine cautes:
Ipse latet: gemino demittunt brachia muro
Turriti scopuli.

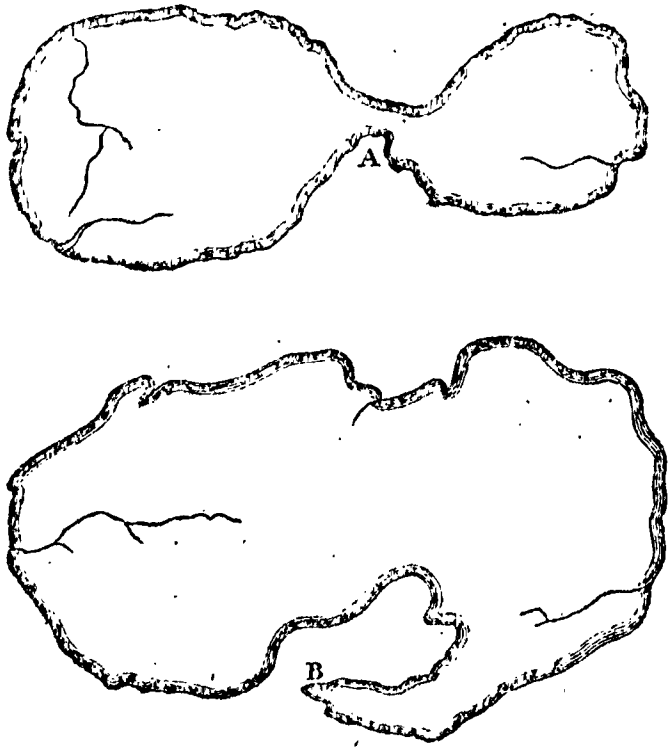
Homer gives the like description:

[60] Ενθ' επει ες λιμενα κλυτον ηλθομεν, ὁν περι πετρη
Ηλιβατος τετυχηκε διαμπερες αμφοτερωθεν·
Ακται δε προβλητες εναντιαι αλληλῃσιν
Εν ϛοματι ϖρὲχχσιν, αϱαιη δ' εισοδος εϛιν.

The τοπος διθαλασσος is nothing else but the natural barrier of an harbour: where this is wanting, they make an artificial one, called a mole or pier: otherwise there can be no security for shipping, the harbour being little better than a road without it. Such a barrier or headland was here, which they endeavoured to get round and failed. This may be learned from the context: Περιπεσοντες δε εις τοπον δι-

[59] Virg. Æn. l. 3. v. 533.
[60] Odyss. l. 10. v. 87.

θαλασσου, επωκειλαν την ναυν; where the word περιπεσοντες is as emphatical as the word εκπεσοντες was before; it signifies falling upon a place in taking a round or circuit. The mariners saw a bay, into which they had a mind to run their ship: but they met with a small promontory or ledge that projected, and formed the entrance into the bay; and which was washed on each side by the sea. This impeded them; and, in endeavouring to get round it, their ship struck, and stood fast.



A. *The* τοπος διθαλασσος *according to Bochart's idea.*
B. *The same according to the Author.*

This is doubtless what the sacred writer means. There is a passage of *Dio Chrysostom* that confirms this interpretation of the word [61] διθαλασσος wonderfully: it is where he speaks of the *Syrtes* of *Africa* in his *Fabula Libyca*, and mentions the danger of being entangled among them. He says, [62] τοις δε κατενεχθεισιν εκ ειναι τον εκπλουν δυνατον; that is, "when "ships had penetrated into the *Syrtes*, their retreat was intercepted:" βραχεα γαρ και ΔΙΘΑΛΑΤΤΑ και ταιναιαι μακραι μεχρι πολλε διηκουσαι πανταπασιν απορον και δυσκολον παρεχουσι το πελαγος: "because shallows "and ledges of rock or sand, and narrow riffs that "projected a great way rendered the sea dangerous "and impassable." From all which we may venture to affirm, that τοπος διθαλασσος cannot be interpreted an *isthmus* in *Bochart*'s sense; nor can any thing be inferred from these words in favour of his opinion. As to the tradition, and superstition in consequence of it, which I wonder a protestant writer should build upon, it is not worth combating: only thus much I will say, that there is not a legend in *Spain* but has as good authority to maintain it.

In treating of a subject that is not controverted,

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[61] *Beza* interprets τοπον διθαλασσον, *bimarem*, *isthmum*: but he explains it better by *une langue de terre entre deux mers*. *Grotius* calls it *tænia*.

[62] Page 83. Edit. Casaub. Par. 1604.

it is sufficient for a writer to tender his own thoughts; and justify them by the best evidence he can produce: but where the point is disputed, there is something more required. It is necessary to state fairly whatever may be the opinions of others: whose notions must be canvassed, and their arguments and objections answered. As many of these arguments are oftentimes founded on conjecture, and of little weight; to go methodically through them is a process to the writer as painful and unsatisfactory, as it is dry and unentertaining to the reader. Yet it is a work that must be proceeded with, or it will be thought that justice has not been done to those who maintain a contrary opinion. I have already taken notice of some of the most material arguments produced by *Bochart*: it is necessary now to consider those that remain. The following is one.

It is observable, that in the island where St. *Paul* was cast, there was a governor named *Publius*, who was called Πρωτος της Νησε: and it is remarked that an inscription has been seen at *Malta*, wherein such a title is mentioned. This carries no evidence with it; but is introduced as a plausible circumstance in favour of that island; since we are certified by this means that an officer of that character resided there. The inscription, as mentioned by *Bochart* from *Quintinus*, is very faulty. Λ. ΚΑ. ΥΙΟΣ. ΚΥΡ. ΙΠΠΕΥΣ. ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ. ΠΡΩΤΟΣ. ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ. It is quoted differently by *Grotius*, who

gives it more fully, and somewhat more correctly. It begins thus. Λ. Κ. ΚΙΟΣ. ΚΥΡ. ΠΡΟΥΔΗΝΣ; which perhaps should be read, Λ. ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ. ΚΥΡ. ΠΡΟΥΔΗΝΣ, and then it stands thus;

[63] Λ. ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ. ΚΥΡ. ΠΡΟΥΔΗΝΣ.
ΙΠΠΕΥΣ. ΡΩΜ.
ΠΡΩΤΟΣ. ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ. ΚΑΙ [64] ΓΑΥΛΩΝ.
ΑΡΞΑΣ. ΚΑΙ. ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΕΥΣΑΣ.
ΘΕΩ. ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΩ.

The meaning of it, as I have altered it, is this: *Lucius Claudius Quirinius Prudens, Eques Romanus, Procurator Melitensium et Gaulorum, Præses et Minister, Divo Augusto.*

This I take to be the true reading: but I cannot see what inference can be made from it; as there were very many places under the like government.

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[63] *Tho. Reinesius* reads Λ. ΚΑΣΤΡΙΚΙΟΣ ΚΥΡΕΙΝΑ. Syntag. Francof. 1682. *Castricius* was no uncommon name, and possibly may be the true reading. It occurs in *Suetonius*, *Vopiscus*, *Plin.*, and others. *Porphyry* addresses his book *de Abstinentiâ* to *Firmus Castricius*. *Claudius* is of fewer letters, and seems better adapted to the interval it is to fill up, if that be truly delineated by those who have copied the inscription. That ΚΥΡ. is *Quirinius* appears probable from an inscription at *Gaulos* mentioned by *Gaultherus*. It begins thus: M. VALLIO. C. F. QVIR. RVFO.

[64] *Grotius* reads ΠΑΤΡΩΝ; *Abela*, ΙΑΤΡΩΝ. The true reading is undoubtedly ΓΑΥΛΩΝ.

The *Romans* delegated their authority in different degrees to variety of officers: they had *Prætores, Proconsules, Præfecti, Legati, Procuratores.* The *Greeks* tryed to adapt equivalent titles, such as Ἀνθυπατοι, Ἡγεμονες, Πρωτοι, &c. This last I have translated *Procurator*, as being a governor of lower degree, and answering the nearest of any *Latin* term of office to the *Greek* before us. *Pontius Pilate* is called Ἡγεμων; but was only a *Procurator*, as appears by *Tacitus*, who styles him *Procurator Judææ.* I am justified in this interpretation and in one of the alterations above by an inscription of the same place, mentioned, I think, first by [65] *Gualtherus*, and afterwards by [66] *Spon.* It begins, *Chrestion Aug. L. Proc.*—which must be read *Chrestion Augusti Libertus, Procurator*: and it will then appear thus;

CHRESTION. AVG. L.
PROCURATOR. INSVLARVM.
MELIT. ET. GAVL.
COLVMNAS. CVM. FASTIGIIS. ET. PARIETIBUS
TEMPLI. DEÆ. PROSERPINÆ.
VETVSTATE. RVINAM. [67] IMMINENTIBVS.
RESTITVIT.
SIMVL. ET. PILAM. INAVRAVIT.

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[65] *Rerum Sicularum et adjacentium ins. tabulæ Maltanæ.* 1625.
[66] Misc. Erudit. Antiq. p. 191.
[67] Read MINANTIBVS or MINITANTIBVS.

That is, "*Chrestion*, a freedman of *Augustus*, "*Procurator* of the islands *Melite* and *Gaulos*, "repaired the pillars together with the roof and "walls of the temple of the goddess *Proserpine*, "that through age were ready to tumble down: "he likewise gilded the ball." From all which we find that *Malta* was, as I have before observed, a place of elegance, and had many fine buildings; and that the chief *Roman* governor was called *Procurator*: but nothing farther can I gather from this article.

Bochart would indeed persuade us that Πρωτος was the real title of the governor: he speaks of it as if it was peculiar to this place, and not in use any where else—*hujus insulæ Præfectos ita nominari solitos et ex hoc loco colligere est, ex veteri epitaphio.* But this is all a mistake: the true title of the supreme magistrate was certainly a *Roman* one, probably the term *Procurator*, of which Πρωτος is a translation. The *Greeks*, not having any word precise enough to express this dignity, substituted the general term Πρωτος; which, so far from being the real title, is but an inadequate copy of it, and may be adapted to *Proconsul*, *Legatus*, &c. with equal propriety. *Bochart* seems to have forgot that this was a *Roman* magistrate; and speaks of the *Greek* term of office, as if it were the *Latin* original; introducing at the same time *Carthaginian* evidence to shew the propriety of it. The *Romans*, in appoint-

ing their officers, did not follow *Phœnician* or *Carthaginian* precedents.

I come now to an argument that consists of many particulars, which, that I may not do it injustice, I will set down at large. *Tres menses continuos in illâ insulâ hæsit Paulus cum centurione et aliis, Act.* 28, 11; *qui numerus hominum fuit* CCLXXVI, *Act.* 27, 37. *Quod vix quisquam crediderit de Illyricâ Melite; quia, cùm non nisi quatuor passuum millibus à continenti distet, et Epidaurum in conspectu habeat, portum celeberrimum et hospitibus commodissimum; centurio Romanus maluisset eò trajicere, quàm totam hiemem in miserâ insulâ degere; in quâ tam multos advenas sine gravibus incommodis diversari fuisset nefas.* [68] The author's

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[68] It is a disagreeable task to be finding out blemishes in an author, that has deserved so well of the learned world as *Bochart*; and who has employed his talents to so good a purpose. But I should be guilty of injustice to the cause I am engaged in, if I suffered any mistakes even of so great a man to pass unnoticed, especially when they are of consequence to my subject. In the small extract, quoted above, there are no less than six assertions, that have not the least authority to back them. Not to mention, that, by his manner of speaking, one might be induced to imagine, that *Epidaurus* was not above four or five miles from *Melite*, which would be a great mistake; it is sufficient,

That he says, it was within sight of it:

That it was a very famous sea-port:

That it was very commodious for strangers to go to:

That a *Roman* centurion would certainly have passed over to it:

reasoning in this place is founded too much on supposition, and is attended with some mistakes. It is to be observed, he does not produce one single voucher for any thing that he has said. It seems, *Julius* would not have stayed in the island, had it been the *Illyrian Melite;* but would have quitted such a wretched spot for *Epidaurus*. *Julius* was a centurion; and had a great charge of prisoners, that it highly concerned him to take care of. Which situation would they be most secure in? upon an island, by its nature surrounded with water? or in a barbarous town upon the continent? and which would a *Roman* soldier in those circumstances consult, his convenience, or his duty? He speaks of *Melite* as a wretched island; but produces no authority for it. That it was rather a poor place, and of little repute, I believe: but this is a circumstance, I think, in favour of my argument. For it seldom happens, that a matter of fact, transacted in a part of the world which all are acquainted with, is transferred to another, that is scarce ever heard of. But a transaction, that has been done in a place very obscure and remote, may easily by mistake be attributed to one more obvious and better known; espe-

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That *Melite* was a miserable spot: and,

That 276 persons could not have subsisted there three months without great difficulties:—all this of a place he was little acquainted with; whose name only he seems to have known.

cially when it is of the same name. Had the Apostle been shipwrecked at *Malta;* the other island would have claimed no title to the honour. But as it happened to be upon a spot little known; people have referred it to another, that they were better acquainted with. *Melite* consists at this day of six towns or hamlets, whose inhabitants are in number about two thousand. It has some good harbours; is productive of corn, wine, fruits, (but in no great abundance) and has plenty of fish: of one sort, called the *Sardines*, it has a remarkable fishery. Authors vary about its dimensions, extending it from twenty-five to forty miles in length; but I believe the former number is nearer the truth; and it is said to be twelve miles in breadth.[69] This is, from the

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[69] "L'isle de Meleda, nommée par quelques anciens Melita, "où l'on nourissoit les petits chiens propres pour les dames, ap- "pellez Melitées, et par quelques autres Meligene ou Melitine, est "assise au levant de Curzola, et longue de 30 mille; mais peu "habitée, et seulement renommée pour le grande quantité de "Sardines qu'on y pesche." *Davity.* tom. 3. pag. 1165. Par. 1660.

"L'isle de Melita est la plus grande: car elle a soixante milles "de tour; mais elle est fort pierreuse, et ne produit de vin. "Quant a l'isle de milieu, elle ne contient que sept milles de "circuit; et est fort fertile en recompense. Il n'y en a point, "qui ayent de si bons ports, et dont les habitants soient plus "riches." Voiage de levant par Le *Sieur Des Hayes* fait 1621. a Paris 1645.

Spon says, *Epidaurus* was 12 miles from what is now called *Ra-*

best accounts, the state of the island now; and there is no reason to think but it was much the same of old. As to *Epidaurus*, the *portus celeberrimus et hospitibus commodissimus*, I can say nothing to it; as I do not recollect any particular account to this purport or the contrary. A writer that travelled that way in the 16th century, speaks thus of *Ragusa*; [70] *Portum habet tutissimum, sed manu factum, nec satis amplum.* He afterwards tells us that "at some "distance was old *Ragusa*, the antient *Epidaurus*;

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gusa. "Doux milles au delà il y a un village appellé Ragusa "Vecchia, qui etoit l'ancien Epidaure." *Davity* says, about six miles: "Ragouse Vieille assise au levant de la Nouvelle à quel-"ques 6 mille delà—La Nouvelle Ragouse—assise à 50 mille de l'isle de Curzola." tom. 3. pag. 1160.

Melita, insula maris Adriatici, Dalmatiæ adjacens, inter oram illius et Corcyram Melænam 12 mill. pass. quæ patet in latitudinem, longa 50: canibus Melitæis, qui olim in deliciis nobilis. Ab Epidauro 70 mill. pass. Nunc Meleda, Sclavis Mliet, cum oppidulo cognomine. Hoffmanni Lexic. Universale.

Melita, Μελιτη, *altera insula Dalmatiæ in mari Adriatico, nunc Melede ab Italis, et Mljet a Sclavis, est prope Corcyram Melænam et oram Dalmatiæ; ab eâ quinque millibus in meridiem, sub republicâ Ragusinâ. Extenditur ad 24 millia ab ortu in occasum; et 25 mill. à Ragusis urbe in occasum distat.* Alphonsus Lazor a Varea. See also *Universus terrarum orbis delineatus.* 2 Vol. Patavii 1713.

See *Isolario di Benedetto Bordone. Venet.* 1584.

[70] *Joannes Cottunius, Iter Hierosol.* 1598. *Antverp.* 1619.

which, being burnt by the *Goths*, was deserted by the natives, who retired higher up the gulf, and built the new city:" *Haud procul ab urbe ortum versùs vetus Ragusa, Epidaurus olim dicta, deserta penè et ædificiis infrequens. Hæc, à* [71] *Gothis devastata et diruta, nunquam hactenus restituta est.* From hence I conclude that *Epidaurus* was not that commodious port as is supposed. For I should think the natives would not have gone out of their way to form a new harbour at some expence and labour, if there had been a good one ready made to their hands. It is said that they were but four miles from the continent: it certainly is little more than four or five miles. But can you always land upon the coast? and, when you are landed, are there no marshes nor rivers, no impediments in a wild, uncultivated country, to obstruct your march? and are you always sure of arriving in good time at a place of plenty and security? Yes: *Epidaurus* is within view. This is a great mistake: *Epidaurus* lies to the east, out of sight, as is certified by the best authors. This we may learn from the distance of *Meleda* to *Ragusa:* some make it 30, some 50

[71] They were the *Sclavi* and *Abares*, here called *Goths*. In the reign of *Heraclius*, *Dalmatia* was ravaged by these nations. See *Const. Porphyrog. de administrand. Imp.* cap. 36. He mentions the inhabitants going from Πιταυρα or *Epidaurus* to *Rausis* (Ραυσις). cap. 29.

miles. [72] *Epidaurus* must be still further: and, as we know not what part of the island the Apostle was cast upon, some allowance must be made for that. What the precise distance is, I cannot ascertain; doubtless, no inconsiderable track for shipwrecked people to pass over upon a dangerous [73] coast, and in a stormy season. But, it seems, their very necessities would force them away: for the number of persons landed was no less than two hundred and seventy-six; "too many to have subsisted "there without the greatest inconvenience;" *In quâ [insulâ] tam multos advenas sine gravibus incommodis diversari fuisset nefas.* But for this assertion he brings no authority: and without authority it is unreasonable to subscribe to it. We have seen encampments in the *Isle of Wight;* and we read of

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[72] *Antoninus* in *Iter. Marit.* makes it about 25 miles: *A Melitâ Epidaurus Stadia* CC.

[73] That the *Adriatic* was a sea of dangerous navigation, we learn from many writers. *George Sandys* calls it a sea "tempestu-"ous and unfaithful; at an instant incensed with sudden gusts, "but chiefly with the southern winds." *Wheler* experienced its fury in a bad storm, that he there encountered. He mentions many rocks between *Meleda* and *Ragusa*. pag. 27. *Joan Cottuqius* did the same. After the victory gained by the *English* over the *Spanish* fleet at *Messana* in the year 1718, some ships were ordered up the *Adriatic* by the *English* admiral: but they soon returned, finding it too stormy and dangerous a sea for ships of burden to abide in. *Joan. Lucius* mentions the difficulty of navigating the sea about *Epidaurus*. pag. 25.

Saxon and *Danish* armies wintering in the *Isle of Thanet*, which are both of small dimensions. If these islands could for some months support three or four thousand men; why should not an island as large or larger maintain two or three hundred for the same [74] time? But, after all, how do we know

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[74] Doubtless it is impossible at this distance of time to determine with any certainty about the goodness of this island, or those in its neighbourhood. Yet some judgment may be formed of what they probably were in the time of the Apostle, from what they have been for some centuries past; the nature of the soil and temperature of the air being, I suppose, at all times much the same. *Constantinus Porphyrogennetes* speaks very much in their favour. Ιλησιαζουσι δε αυτοις νησοι τεσσαρες, τα Μελιτα, τα Κερκυρα, ἡ Βαρτζω, και ὁ Φαρος, καλλιστα και ευφορωταται, ερημοκαστρα εχουσαι και ἱλωτας πολλους. Οικουσι δε εν αυταις, και εχουσι τα κτηνη αυτων, και εξ αυτων ζωσιν. cap. 30. To the same purpose speaks *Palladius Fuscus de Situ oræ Illyricæ*: *Curzula insula ambitu sexcentorum stadiorum, pinastris redimita, et aquis abundans, fert frumenta vinaque, et alia usui necessaria præter salem et oleum—adeoque benigni soli et temperati aëris existit, ut ferat etiam mala Medica et siliquas. Ab eâ decem et octo millia passuum distat Melita, canibus olim celebrata, qui, auctore Plinio, Melitæi sunt appellati; quamvis Strabo id alteri Melitæ, ante Pachynum Siciliæ promontorium sitæ, tribuat. Sed Illyrica, circuitu colligens, octingenta stadia, vini et pecoris abundantissima est.* pag. 156. *Palladius Fuscus* cognomento *Niger*, *Rhetor*, *floruit circa* 1450. See *Joan. Lucius de regno Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ*. *Davity* has before mentioned a great fishery for *Sardines*. All these authorities should have been considered, before the island had been pronounced so very barren and inhospitable.

that they could get away? Methinks, this article deserved some consideration. Both they had not: their ship was lost: what method could they make use of to transport themselves to *Epidaurus*? How was the centurion *Julius* to manage?

Ου μεν γαρ μιν πεζον οἰομαι [illegible]

Before we are so determined about people's motions, we should be sure of the means and possibility of conveyance. In short, to finish this dry argument, we are morally certain that not only the persons with the Apostle, but others likewise from *Alexandria* did not hesitate to winter upon the spot at the same time. They seem too to have been a large body; if we may judge from their ship, that was afterwards capable of taking in so many supernumeraries. The island, that is presumed to be incapable of supporting one ship's company, seems to have been sufficient to supply two ships with every thing to their satisfaction. We have therefore no reason to think it so despicable as has been imagined.

Pardon me, says *Bochart*; I make no such inference: the very circumstance here urged proves that this could not be the place of the Apostle's shipwreck: for a ship bound from *Alexandria* to *Puteoli* could never go so much out of its way—*quisquis Alexandriâ Puteolos iturus Illyricam Melitem petit, meritò dici queat, sin minùs toto cœlo, saltem toto salo aberrâsse.* And again—*cùm ab Ægypto*

Puteolos contendentibus Africana Melite penè in-vitis sese offerat. Here is a twofold mistake. First, it is imagined that what was done was matter of choice: the author speaks *quasi petebant insulam*, as if they had made to the island designedly; whereas the ship, it is plain, had lost its passage by stress of weather: driven, probably, by the same storm the Apostle was, and forced to winter where they could best secure themselves. In the storm they had overshot the streights of *Rhegium*, and were obliged to take shelter in the *Adriatic*. In the next place, it is said that, in going from *Egypt* to *Puteoli*, mariners must almost, whether they will or no, run upon [75] *Malta*. Yet, after all, *Malta* makes but a poor figure, when fairly defined; lying nearly east and west, and projecting a front of about eleven miles, where widest; and that, towards the most extensive part of the *Mediterranean*: so that it is but a poor mark to hit, and that in a very wide field. But this is not all. The misfortune is, that the common course from *Alexandria* to *Italy* was quite a different way: not, as *Bochart* imagines, by *Malta*, and by the southern coast of *Sicily*, which was a very

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[75] *Bochart* says, *Malta* lies in the very line that all ships went in that sailed to *Italy*. The Apostle says, the island he was to be driven to, was not in that line, but quite another way: Εἰς νῆσον δέ τινα δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἐκπεσεῖν: that is, "the island we shall be cast upon "is out of our true course and direction." Every circumstance evinces that *Malta* could not be the island.

dangerous track of navigation:[76] but quite otherwise; the mariners keeping as far away as possible, and never coming within many leagues of that sea. What their rout was, I will describe from the course of a ship bound, as they were, from *Alexandria* to *Italy:* as it is mentioned in a dialogue of *Lucian*, referred to before under the title of Πλοῖον ἢ Εὐχαί. This ship, of which I have made some mention above, set sail from the *Nile* with a brisk gale; and on the seventh day had got as far as *Acamas*, the western promontory of *Cyprus*. Here the wind came full against them; and they were obliged to run obliquely up to *Sidon*. From thence they shaped the very same course as the ship of St. *Paul;* running under the coast of *Pamphylia*, where they were very near being lost upon the *Chelidonian* rocks. They then coasted *Lycia;* and got as high as *Cnidus* in the track of the former ship. But, whereas the Apostle's ship turned off to the left, to get shelter in *Crete;* this, finding it had lost its voyage, stood cross the *Ægean* sea for *Attica*, and after much difficulty came to anchor in the *Piræeus*. This was effected seventy days after they had set sail from the *Pharos:* at which time, says one of the persons in the dialogue, it ought by right to have been in the mouth of the *Tiber*. For, says he, in-

[76] *Insula est Melita—satis lato ab Siciliâ mari periculosoque disjuncta.* Cic. Orat. 4. in Verr. Sect. 46.

stead of holding the course they held, they should have come close under *Crete*, keeping it on their right hand; and then have turned up to the promontory *Malea* in *Laconia*: after which their course was too plain to need describing. For, from the *Peloponnesus* they were to stand over for the streights of *Messana* and *Rhegium*, and so prosecute their voyage to *Puteoli* or *Rome*. *Virgil* makes his hero take the same course towards *Italy*; who, though his poem is in great measure a fable, yet, I suppose, copied the truth or the semblance of truth, whenever he could introduce it.

Upon *Bochart*'s principles one might argue, that this ship's coming to *Attica* and the *Piræeus* must be a mistake: for it was certainly *Malta* that it arrived at: because *Attica* is quite out of the way for any ship to touch at, that is bound from the *Nile* to the *Tiber*—*toto cœlo et toto salo errant*, &c. But ships that lose their passage cannot always choose their haven of retreat: they are at the will of the winds, and are sped at their direction.

There is no greater fallacy, than what arises from forming notions about the fitness and expediency of things, at the distance of time, that we have been speaking of; and in respect to seas and countries, that we are but little acquainted with. The only way of proceeding is to go by authority and example, where they are to be had. If they are not to be found; the best way is to be silent: if they are to be met with, it is unpardonable not to make use of

them. I have given one instance of a ship, whose true course towards *Italy* is described. Another is to be found in *Josephus*, where *Herod*, in his voyage from *Alexandria* to *Rome*, went nearly the same course as the ship, wherein the Apostle was cast away. [77] Αναχθεις ων εκειθεν επι Παμφυλιας, και χειμωνι σφοδρω περιπεσων, μολις εις Ῥοδον διασωζεται, φορτιων εκβολης γενομενης. Και δυο μεν ενταυθοι των φιλων αυτω συνεντυγχανει, Σαππινας τε και Πτολεμαιος. Ευρων δε την πολιν υπο τη προς Καισσιον πολεμω κεκακωμενην, και απορος ων ευ ποιειν αυτην ωκνησεν, αλλα και παρα δυναμιν αυτην ανεκτατο. Τριηρη τε κατασκευασας, και αναχθεις εντευθεν συν τοις φιλοις επι Ιταλιαν, εις Βρεντησιον καταγεται.

It is observable that the island we have been writing in favour of was called not only *Melite*, but *Melitene*: which leads me to consider an error that has crept into the *Vulgate*; where the Apostle is said to be shipwrecked on the island *Mitylene*. This is plainly a mistake; and a person the least versed in critical knowledge will see at once what the original reading was, and how it should be corrected. *Mitylene* is the capital of *Lesbos*, and quite in a different sea. It is, doubtless, an error for *Melitene*, brought about by a small change and transposition of a letter; or, for *Melétine*, from Μελητη, which seems to have been the true name of the *Illyrian* island; it being called at this day *Melede*, and by

[77] Antiquit. lib. 14. cap. 14.

the *Sclavonians M'leet.* A manuscript of the *Liber* [78] *Apostolicus,* brought from *Heraclea* in *Pontus,* has Μελητη; and *Arator Subdiaconus,* though he misapplies the name, pronounces it nearly in the same manner *Melite,*

——*remis vicina Melite.*

Hence St. [79] *Jerome* has *Militine,* agreeing very nearly with Μελιτινη, the reading of [80] *Ptolemy.* Now this is a name not at all applicable to *Melite Africana;* there is no instance of its ever having been called so: but it is what *Melite Illyrica* is often denominated by: *Melitene* is a name applicable to that island, and to that alone. It was called Μελητη, Μελητινη, Μελιτινη, and [81] Μελιτουσσα, and, as

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[78] A MS in my hands, intitled, *Liber* MS *vulgò dictus Apostolicus,* Αποστολικον Βιβλιον, *et* Πραξαποστολος &c. *Fuit quondam hic Codex Ecclesiæ Archiepisc. Heraclcæ in orâ Propontidis sitæ.*

[79] *De nomin. Hebræis.* Venerable *Bede* calls the island *Miletus. Eodem die natale Sancti Publii Athenarum episcopi, qui, princeps insulæ Mileti, cum navigantem* &c. *Vide Martyrologium;* XV. Cal. Febr.

[80] Geogr. lib. 2.

[81] Μελιτουσσα, πολις Ιλλυριας: *Polyb. apud Steph. Byzant.* I suppose, the chief town of this island. The memorable passage of *Constant. Porphyrog.* concerning *Melite Illyrica* may, I think, be corrected from *Polybius.* It stands thus; Νησος ἑτερα μεγαλη τα Μελιτα, ητοι το Μαλοζεαται· ἡν εν ταις Πραξεσι των Αποστολων ὁ ἁγιος

some say, [82] *Meligena:* whereas *Malta* is said to have been called *Melivetum, Milivetum, Malech,* and [83] *Maltacia.* Hence, I think, we may from the [84] *Vulgate* decide the point in question; as we find

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Δεκας μεμνηται, Μελιτην ταυτην προσαγοριων. ca. 36. Is not Μαλοξεαται a transposition and change of a few letters for Μαλιτευσσα or Μελετουσσα?

[82] *Isolario di Bened. Bordonc. Ven.* 1534, and *Davity.*

[83] But it is thought to have been so called erroneously. See *Burchard Niderstedt, Malta vetus et nova.* Whatever it may have been called, it was never called *Melitene.*

[84] It is remarkable no copies of the *Vulgate* have *Melite.* I have examined most of the early editions of the *Latin* version: and they all have *Mitylene* or *Mytilene,* with scarce any other variation. The edition printed by *Fust* and *Schoiffer* in 1462 at *Mentz,* and all those of *Venice* and *Nurenburg* to 1490 have this reading, one only excepted. This could not be the effect of chance. As there were two islands called *Melite,* it was certainly the translator's intention to distinguish that which was honoured with the Apostle's presence; and, to prevent any mistake or confusion, he calls it by a more peculiar name, that could not be applied to the other; i. e. *Melitene* or *Melitine,* for so it originally stood. This was the translator's design; but bigotry and prejudice have got the better of his precaution. The edition, that I have excepted out of the general list, is that printed at *Venice* 1493; which retains the true reading *Mylitine,* which is nearly as it stood originally in the *Vulgate: Et cum evasissemus, tunc cognovimus quia Mylitine insula vocabatur.* It is likewise retained in the *Coptic* version. See *Novum Testam. Ægypt. hoc est, Copticum,* published at *Oxford* 1716 by *David Wilkins*; where the name of the island is expressed ⲙⲉⲗⲉⲧⲓⲛⲏ. The *Syriac* printed *Cothenis Anhaltiorum* has *Meliti.* The *English* Bible too printed

there is very early evidence in our favour, probably as early as the third century. The island in debate is pretty clearly determined by this interpretation.

One thing more I have to offer; and I shall then conclude. Upon a supposition that the Apostle wintered in the *Adriatic*, every thing that happened afterwards, when they set sail, is plain and to be accounted for. St. *Luke* says they embarked on board an *Alexandrine* ship, that had wintered in the same island: that they sailed first to *Syracuse*; and, after tarrying three days, they set sail again; and, by taking a compass, they got to *Rhegium*. The learned *Bochart* makes use of these circumstances to prove that the Apostle could not have been near the coast of *Illyria*: whereas these occurrences are what must have happened from the situation we suppose them to have been in there. I would only ask what wind a ship would require on the *Illyrian* coast, to carry it through the gulf of *Adria*. A child with a chart before him would tell you it must be a wind from the north. But will such a wind be favourable for the streights of *Messana*, and to go to *Puteoli* or *Ostia?* No; it requires a contrary wind to what they set out with: and they must either beat the seas, or make to some port. We ac-

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by *Whitchurche* in 1549 expresses the true name of the place; "And when thei wer scaped, then thei knew, that the yle was "called *Milete*."

cordingly find the ship went to *Syracuse*: and after three days (whether the wind was more favourable, or they were tired with waiting, is uncertain) they ventured to sea again: and, περιελθοντες, "fetching a "compass," taking a good circuit to the east, they gained the advantage of a side wind, and got to *Rhegium*. Here a south wind sprung up, as fair as they could wish; and they arrived the second day at *Puteoli*. Supposing they set sail from *Malta*, the whole is very unsatisfactory, not to say unintelligible. We can assign no reason for their stay [85] at *Syracuse;*

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[85] *Grotius* thinks, they went to *Syracuse* to trâffick. But these ships of *Alexandria* were under great restrictions; their chief commodity, if not the whole of their cargo, being corn, which *Rome* was in much need of. The *Romans* were always very careful about this article; in later times particularly severe. See *Cod. Justin.* lib. XI. tit. 27. *de frumento Alexandrino.*

No ship was to be excused the service; *nec si cœleste contrà proferatur oraculum.* lib. XI. tit. 3.

Those who encroached upon the banks of the *Nile* were to be burnt alive, lib. IX. tit. 38. *Honorii et Theodosii.* See particularly lib. XI. tit. 1, 5. on mariners going out of their course. *Qui fiscales species suscepit deportandas, si, rectâ navigatione contemptâ, littora devia sectatus eas avertendo distraxerit, capitali pœnâ plectetur.*

And lib. XI. tit. 1, 6. *Judices, qui in partibus Diœceseôs suæ onusta navigia, cum prosperior flatus invitat, sub prætextu hiemis immorari permiserint, unà cum municipibus et corporatis ejusdem loci, fortunarum propriarum fruantur dispendiis. Naucleri præterea pœnam deportationis excipiant, si aliquid fraudis eos admisisse fuerit revelatum.*

nor for their taking such a circuit to get to *Rhegium*: because it is certain that the wind they sailed with round *Cape Passaro* to *Syracuse* would have been equally fair for *Rhegium*; and could scarce have failed carrying them even to *Puteoli* or the *Tiber*.

Thus have I gone through the disquisition I first purposed: and have endeavoured to support my arguments with the best authorities, and place them in the clearest light. In the mean time, I am sensible there may be some prejudice against what I have been urging, on account of the great eminence of the persons, whose opinions I controvert and oppose. Among others, *Bentley*, *Grotius*, *Beza*, *Bochart*, *Cluver* are men of great name, that have ever been esteemed writers of the first rank in the times they lived: it will hardly be imagined that men of such universal learning could be mistaken in a point they professedly made their study. But we must consider the grand scope they had in view, the ample field they were conversant in; where a person of the most extensive knowledge might sometimes be bewildered and lost. The more universal their

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These laws, though of later date, yet sufficiently shew, of what consequence this article was. The mariners at all times were obliged to make the greatest dispatch: and the centurion *Julius* had too great a charge, and too much authority to suffer any delay, especially after a detention of so many months.

study was, the less attentive they must have been to particulars; and, consequently, may sometimes have been guilty of oversights and mistakes that human frailty cannot guard against: which mistakes we often see detected and amended by persons of less extensive knowledge and smaller abilities, who followed their footsteps, and gleaned after them.

The clearing up these difficulties may be thought by some a circumstance of little consequence, and possibly of less entertainment. But it must be considered that the determining any point of Scripture is always attended with advantage. In the investigation of any sacred truth we see continually fresh evidence arise; some new light break in, that strengthens and illustrates beyond the point in view. It matters little whence it proceeds: it is ever pleasing to a serious and inquisitive mind, and cannot but be profitable in the end. The most minute inquiry and elucidation tends to a confirmation of the whole. There will be likewise seen this advantage resulting from what I have laid before the reader; that he will, I believe, find the seas I have been treating of, with their boundaries and abutments, together with the changes in different ages they underwent in respect to those limits, more clearly and precisely determined here than has been any where else observed.

It may likewise be entertaining to reflect, how much the art of navigation is improved, and with what dispatch now a days commerce is carried on.

In former times they only made coasting voyages, never willingly losing sight of land. The Νηες σιτοφοροι or σιταγωγαι were particularly heavy and slow. The ship mentioned by [86] *Lucian* set out with a fair wind, and was seven days in getting to *Cyprus;* and it was judged seventy days sail to the *Tiber.* An *English* levanter with a steady gale would put boldly before the wind, and run in that space from *Jaffa* to the *Lizard.*

But what is a more serious consideration we may learn from hence how strict an examination the Scriptures are capable of undergoing. No history has stood the test that the sacred writers are made to bear. And in these inquiries it is very satisfactory to observe by the collateral evidence, as it coincides, that things must necessarily have happened in the manner they are represented. It may likewise serve to display to us the credulity of the church of *Rome;* and shew on what weak foundation their faith is established. A mistake being once made between two islands of the same name, how many forgeries are introduced in consequence of this one error! all which are recommended by their clergy as truths to be highly reverenced. This is strongly evidenced by the editors of the [87] *Rhemish*

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[86] See Dial. Πλοιον η Ευχαι.

[87] The New Testament printed at *Rhemes,* 1582, by *John Fogny.* This translation was made for the use of the *English*

testament: who were not content to give their readers a mangled translation of the *Vulgate*; but they must annex to it the [88] legends of their church,

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papists by *William Allyn*, who was afterwards a cardinal and archbishop of *Mechlin*. He is said to have been assisted in this work by *Richard Bristow* and *Gregory Martin*; the same that wrote a dissertation on the true pronunciation of the *Greek* language. The author of the notes is said to be *Thomas Worthington*. There was a confutation of this translation written by *Thomas Cartwright*, author of the *Admonitions to Parliament*. See *Lewis*'s History of the *English* translations of the Bible, page 293. and *Wood*'s Athenæ Oxon.

[88] They have sainted *Publius*, whose hand they pretend to shew for a relick. *Manduca* the *Jesuit* has gone so far as to write his history. And, not content with forcibly bringing St. *Paul* hither, they make him attended with *Luke* and *Trophimus*; which last, they say, took up his residence in the island. In the city *Valetta* is a monument and inscription raised by *Abela* to his memory. They shew a fountain that St. *Paul* caused to flow out of the rock; and near it a stone, with some not inelegant verses:

Hâc sub rupe cavâ, quam cernis ad æquoris undas,
Exiguus trepidat fons salientis aquæ.
Relligione sacrâ latices venerare, viator;
Naufragus has dedcrit cum tibi Paulus aquas.

Dionysius Carthusianus assures us, St. *Paul* founded a church at *Malta*; and, what is more extraordinary, that he dedicated it to the Virgin *Mary*. *Abela* reports the same circumstance: *Dedicata fuit prima Ecclesia in Melitâ a Sancto Paulo sacratissimæ Virgini Mariæ; cujus imaginem depinxisse Sanctum Lucam Evangelistam, socium Apostoli in peregrinatione et naufragio quod hic passus fuit, ex antiquâ traditione statuitur et tenetur a Meliten-*

to corrupt it still farther. In speaking of the island *Malta*, which they call *Mitylene*, they make this observation.—" This island (now *Malta*) is the " seate of the knightes of the [89] *Rhodes*: the in- " habitants whereof have a special devotion to St. " *Paul;* to whom both the cheefe church (being " the bishop's seate) is dedicated, and the whole " iland (as they count it) consecrated: where the " people shew yet to strangers his prison and other " memoirs of his miracles." And afterwards, " *Malta* hath St. *Paules* blessing and grace until " this day." And in another place, speaking of the viper that fastened upon the Apostle's hand, they make this remark: " yea, and (as the chris-

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sibus. Etiam illud confirmatur ab Abbate Pyrrho in septimâ Notitiâ nostræ Ecclesiæ Melitensis: ubi insuper tenet, arbitratur imaginem Beatæ Virginis Mellechæ etiam fuisse opus et picturam ejusdem Sancti Lucæ. Francisci Abelæ Melita illustrata. edit. Lat. p. 185. The *Glossopetræ* and *Bufonitæ*, fossils common in most parts of *Europe*, are supposed here to be the tongues and teeth of serpents petrified; and the earth of the island to have the virtue of an antidote. It is moreover affirmed that all born in *Malta* upon the day of the *Conversion of St. Paul* cure the bites of serpents, and all poisons whatever; and by their saliva take away all inflammations. *Tho. Fazellus de rebus Siculis.* Decad. 1. lib. 1. Such are the traditions of the *Maltese*, very particular and circumstantial; and yet every word a fiction. See also *Burchardus Niderstedt; Malta vetus et nova. Helmestadii* 1660. *François Belle-forest; Cosmograph.* 1575.

[89] Given to them about the year 1530.

ISLAND of GOZAN.
Comino
Porto delle Colombe
La Cala di S. Paolo
S. Paolo
Valetta
Cala di S. Nicola
ISLAND of MALTA.
Citta Vecchia
S. Giorgio
Gebal el Rahab
Porto del Mugiaro
MAP of MALTA.
Hetra Negra
Miles 60 to a Degree

CORSICA
SARDINIA
ROMA
Puteoli
Neapolis
CALABRIA
Tarentum
Brundusium
Crotona
Locri
Syracusa
Panormus
Lilybæum
Hermæa Pr.
Carthago
Adrumetum
Gades
MELITA Ins
SICILIA
SICULUM MARE
IONI
BRUTTII
Regium
Cocynthus
Cephallenia
Zacynthus
Leucas
Ithaca
Dulichium
Same
Patræ
Corinthus
Cenchreæ
Athenæ
Piræus
Thebæ
Chalcis
Delphi
Parnassus
Dodona
Ambracia
Actium
Nicopolis
Epidamnus
Dyrrachium
Apollonia
Aulon
Anchiale
Aous
Genusus
Scodra
Naissus
Sardica
Philippi
Amphipolis
Thessalonica
Pella
Edessa
Beroea
Pydna
Olympus
Ossa
Pelion
Tempe
Larissa
Demetrias
Sinus Pagasæus
Thermopylæ
Lamia
Oeta
Callipolis
Lysimachia
Perinthus
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Nicomedia
Nicæa
Prusa
Cius
Abydus
Troas
Alexandria Troas
Assus
Lesbos
Mitylene
Methymna
Phocæa
Smyrna
Ephesus
Samos
Miletus
Halicarnassus
Rhodus
Cnidus
Myra
Patara
Xanthus
Phaselis
Perga
Attalia
Coracesium
Tarsus
Issus
Mopsuestia
Anazarbus
Castabala
Cyrrhestica
Zeugma
Hierapolis
Antiochia
Seleucia
Laodicea
Apamea
Palmyra
Damascus
Byblus
Berytus
Sidon
Ptolemais
Cæsarea
Joppe
Jerusalem
Jericho
Gaza
Rhinocolura
Pelusium
Alexandria
Memphis
Heroum
Arsinoe
Berenice
Myos Hormus
Coptos
Syene
Elephantine
Meroe
Axum
Adulis
Ptolemais Thronus
Ptolemais Epitheras
Ptolemais Theron
Ptolemais Evergetis
Ptolemais Hermii
Ptolemais Pan
Ptolemais Dia
Ptolemais Abalitis
Ptolemais Acathartus
Ptolemais Epidires
Ptolemais Epidaurus
Ptolemais Limne
Ptolemais Lagus
Ptolemais Pithon
Ptolemais Strategis
Ptolemais Thermæ
Ptolemais Theodosius
Ptolemais Ippodromus
Ptolemais Ecbatana
Ptolemais Ecbatana
Ptolemais Ecbatana

" tian people there til this day beleeve) by St. " *Paules* praiers the iland was delivered for ever " from al such venemous serpents: in so much that " children there play with [90] scorpions ever since " that time; and Pilgrimes daily carie with them " peeces of stones out of the place where St. *Paul* " abode, by which they affirme that they heale them " which in other countries adjoyning are bitten of " scorpions: the medicine therfore being called St. " Paules grace." Thus have they thought proper to clog the word of God with the traditions of men; as if the holy Scriptures would lose of their influence, unless garnished with legend and fable. That *Malta* harbours no venomous creature, is not owing to St. Paul's grace, who was never there; but to the nature of the island, that cannot give them shelter. For it is of a low situation, and consists of a soft white rock, with very little earth; what they have being, as *Thevenot* tells us, for the most part adventitious. What *Isaac Vossius* says of *Galata* may, with some limitation, be applied to *Malta*: [91] *Plinius tradit hujus insulæ terram scorpiones necare: sed nulla hìc proprìè extat terra, cùm tota insula sit sterile saxum—Mirum itaque non est scorpiones in tali loco non esse—Huc accedit,*

[90] Travellers say, there are no scorpions for the children to play withall. See *Thevenot*'s and *Gemelli*'s Travels.

[91] *Is. Vossii* Observat. in Melam. Lib. 2. cap. 7.

quòd scorpiones naturali quâdam constitutione oderint loca aprica, ac plurimùm in iis moriantur vigeant autem in obscuris et humidis. Much the same may be said of *Malta*; which island, I believe, *ab origine* was never capable of harbouring either scorpion or viper. And though the natives shew the [92] hand of *Publius*, the landing place, [93] the prison and the pillar of St. *Paul*; yet I think it is pretty certain that neither St. *Paul* nor *Publius* were there: and if the Apostle had been, yet he could not have displayed the wonder he did; unless he had exhibited a prior miracle to introduce it.

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[92] See *Abela*, *Gemelli*'s and *Skippon*'s Travels.

[93] The tradition of the prison would be at any rate very improbable. Those that invented it did not consider how *Julius* behaved to St. *Paul* at *Sidon*, nor in what manner he was afterwards treated at *Rome*. Those that left him so much at large upon the continent, would hardly imprison him in an island.

END OF VOL. V.

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